

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

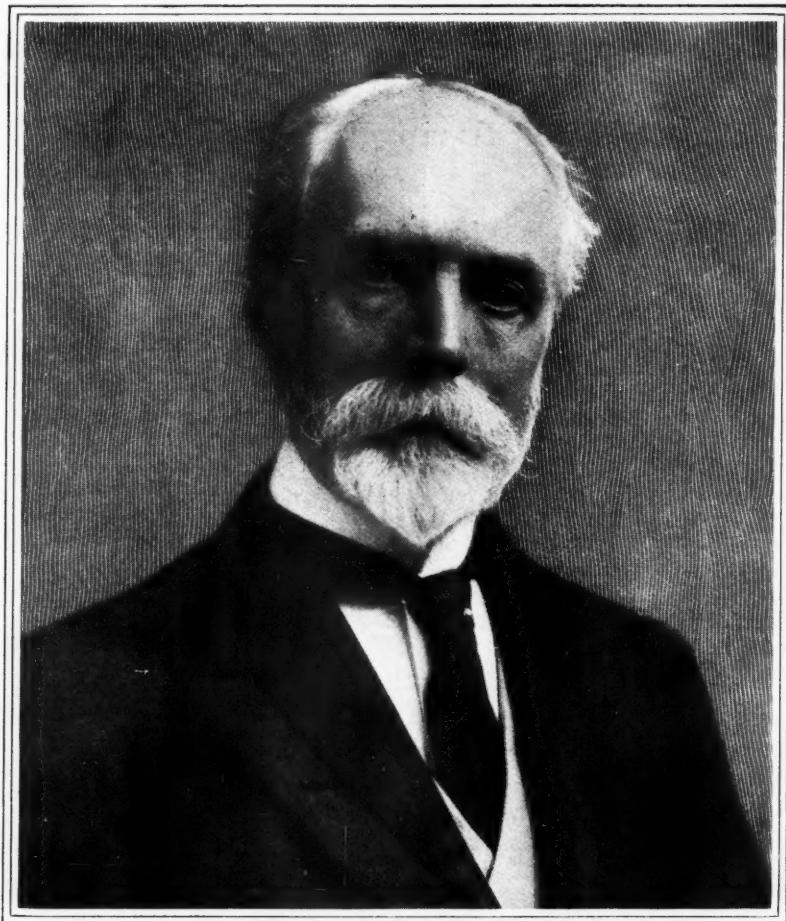
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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AMBASSADOR WHITELAW REID

Ambassador Reid, who died at Dorchester House, his London residence, on December 15, 1912, at the age of seventy-five, was one of the very few well-known American journalists of the Civil War period who had survived and continued their activities down to the present day. For more than half a century Mr. Reid's name had been potent in the newspaper offices of this country. His distinction in diplomacy was won after a long and eventful career in journalism. Born of Scottish ancestry, in the little town of Xenia, Ohio, Whitelaw Reid was prepared for college at the local academy and was graduated, after three years' work, from Miami University, at the age of nineteen. After a year of teaching, he purchased and for three years edited the *Xenia News*, which he allied with the new Republican party. After the Civil War broke out, Mr. Reid, employing the pen name of "Agate," rapidly developed into one of the most brilliant and trustworthy correspondents in the field. His descriptions of some of the great battles of the war, notably Shiloh and Gettysburg, are still regarded as classics. It was in the summer of 1868 that Horace Greeley offered to Mr. Reid the post of chief editorial writer on the *New York Tribune*. Within a few months Mr. Reid was made managing editor of the *Tribune* and in the disastrous campaign of 1872, when Mr. Greeley resigned the editorship of the *Tribune*, Mr. Reid was chosen by the directors to fill his place. After the election Mr. Greeley resumed the editorship for a few days, but died before the end of the month, and immediately the responsibility for building up the newspaper on the ruin wrought by political defeat and loss of prestige devolved upon Mr. Reid. He made it the most influential exponent of Republicanism in the East, and when at the beginning of President Harrison's administration the appointment as Minister to France was tendered him, he was able to leave the editorship of the *Tribune* in other hands. Mr. Reid served three years at Paris, dealing with important international questions. Mr. Reid's next important public service was on the peace commission which met in Paris at the close of the Spanish-American war. In the work of that commission chief credit for the retention of the Philippines by the United States has usually been accorded to Mr. Reid. In 1905 President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Reid Ambassador to Great Britain. Throughout his residence as American Ambassador at London the hospitalities extended to Americans visiting the United Kingdom were famous in both hemispheres. Mrs. Reid, who survives her husband, is a daughter of Darius O. Mills.

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*A Year  
of Historic  
Events*

The year 1912 will be notable in history for its considerable number of events and movements that will stand on the records as having permanent importance. It is true that there is no standard by which to judge of the historical significance of any contemporary happening. Yet there are certain classes of events that in the retrospect have been found to have great importance; and it is reasonable to believe that things of a like nature will continue to have prominence in the pages of history. Such events are foreign and domestic wars; changes in laws and governments; social and economic changes of a kind that affect great masses of people. It is generally agreed that war is deplorable, and that peace among men of all nations is to be supremely desired. But there is divergence of opinion, among those who love peace, as to the best way to secure it. Furthermore, there is wide difference as to the justification of war in a particular instance. Thus in Europe and America there are many people of high character who have felt the keenest sympathy with the Balkan states in their recent war against Turkey, and who have rejoiced in every victory of the allies against the armies of the Sultan. There have been many other good people, especially among the adherents of peace societies, who have looked with abhorrence upon the conduct of Bulgaria and Servia in resorting to arms, and have regarded the aims and ambitions of these small States as indefensible. Either one of these opposing views can be stated intelligently and in convincing terms.

*Wars Come  
from Unsettled  
Questions*

Those who sympathize with Balkan aspirations and with the heroic patriotism of Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece, seem to be supported by the logic of history. Those, on the other

hand, who declare that the war was needless and wrong, would seem to give us the better analysis of actual conditions, whether social, political, or international. From the historical standpoint, almost every war takes its place in a sequence. Until fundamental questions at issue between nations are settled in the line of broad tendency, they will provoke armed conflict. It is four hundred and sixty years since the Turks established themselves at Constantinople. They had been in possession of Adrianople, however, for more than a hundred years; and their militant position in southeastern Europe may now be said to cover more than five centuries. Through this period, their occupation of European soil has been marked by a series of wars. It has been one long story of oppression, strife, discord, massacre, widespread misery. The Turks as a race have many good qualities. But as rulers over other races in southeastern Europe, they have brought untold calamity. It has been the dominant idea of a majority of the inhabitants of European Turkey that sooner or later the Turks must go. The process of expulsion has been going on through many generations, marked by numerous wars and convulsive efforts. The recent war is simply another in that long series.

*A Wrong Peace  
Now, Means  
Future War*

This frightful contest, whatever of good it may seem to have secured, exacts a penalty of human suffering that is almost indescribable. At the end of the great Balkan war of 1877, in which Russia came to the help of the Bulgarians and Servians against the Turks, all the questions now at issue ought to have been settled. The mischievous interference of England, Germany, and Austria, in the Berlin congress of 1878, is chiefly responsible for several subsequent outbursts, and for this



THE MESSAGE—WHAT WILL THE SEASON BRING  
TO THE BALKANS?

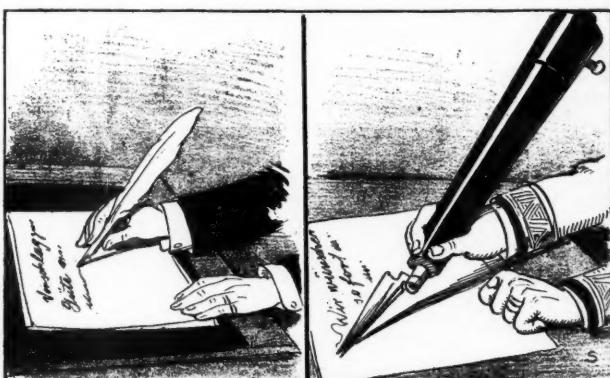
From the *World* (New York)

latest conflict of magnitude. The participants in the war of 1877, if left to themselves, would have settled the issue wisely by transferring Turkish rule across the Bosphorus to Asia Minor. And this would have been by far the best solution for the Turks themselves. If now the great powers again support Turkey, and conspire to cheat the Balkan states out of the accomplishment of their plans, we shall see still more wars in the near future, having the same fundamental object of driving the Turks out of Europe.

*The Great Powers at Fault*  
Peace will come to prevail among men, not so much through declaiming against war and denouncing public expenditure for armies and navies, as through the study and settlement of questions that provoke war, and the cultivation of a spirit of international justice. This particular war is chiefly due to the fact that British public opinion permitted Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury to perpetrate their infamous schemes through

the Congress of Berlin. The patriotism and military efficiency of the Balkan states have astonished the world. But their populations are small and their economic resources are very limited. If the concert of Europe, in its oversight of Turkish affairs, had been either beneficent or sincere, and if the obligations assumed by them thirty-five years ago had been carried out, these small countries would not now have been provoked to warfare, but would have cultivated the arts of peace, building up their populations and their resources, and allowing the further history of southeastern Europe to be made by the normal forces of human progress and not by the destructive engines of war and rapine. It is to be hoped that the conferences in London, following the armistice, will have worked out a basis for permanent peace. But, again, the menace lies in the meddling of the great world powers, with their imperial and colonial rivalries.

*"Imperialism" The curse of the world, in our age, lies in that false governmental tendency called "imperialism."* The latest phase of this tendency is shown in the determination of the government of Canada to make the Dominion a veritable part of that European system of armed dread and expectancy from which it ought to be both the duty and the privilege of all countries in the Western Hemisphere to keep aloof. There is nothing in the relations of Canada to Great Britain that could justify the Dominion in becoming embroiled in any British war whatsoever. So far as the world at large is concerned, Canada is a quiet, peaceful, self-governing republic.



OLD AND NEW WAYS OF WRITING A PEACE TREATY  
(Is the world to discard the historic method of writing peace treaties with a quill pen for that of inditing them with a bayonet?)  
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)

She has no possible need of an army or a navy. For her to create a navy of dreadnoughts, to be used as a part of the British navy in a war against one of the three or four other naval powers of the world, is the most menacing step away from the paths of peace, toward hopeless and inevitable strife among men, that has been witnessed in modern times. For the Dominion of Canada is without present or future enemies; and it has nothing conceivable to gain and everything to lose by abandoning its normal position and its hitherto enlightened policy.

*Canada  
to Become  
Militant*

If the lovers of peace have felt depression over

the armed strife in southeastern Europe, they have vastly more cause for disheartenment over the decision of Canada to prepare herself needlessly for participation in the struggles and quarrels of the great powers of the Old World. However difficult and imperfect has been the progress of civilization in the Western Hemisphere, its ideals hitherto have been those of peace. The principal object of the navy of the United States has been to protect both North and South America in a development that should not depend upon armaments. Canada, by reason of this state of affairs, has had the most favorable position of any country in the world. She could always have relied on the neighborly assistance of the United States, if menaced by any foe, whether European or Asiatic. But, in point of fact, Canada has never had a foe and has had no cause to expect any. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW we publish an article by Mr. McGrath, setting forth this movement in Canada and elsewhere toward a great British imperial navy; and in a subsequent page of this month's editorial comment will be found a further presentation of Premier Borden's proposals.

*The  
Panama  
Question*

Elsewhere, also, in these pages, occurs some statement of the objections presented by the British foreign office to the law enacted at Washington, several months ago, regarding Panama Canal tolls. This law, as commented



ONE THRONE, ONE FLAG, ONE FLEET

(Canada's magnificent offer to insure the continuance of Great Britain's supremacy)  
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

upon in our number for October, provided that the ordinary commercial tolls should be remitted in the case of vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States. It is claimed by the British Government that we had agreed to permit all nations to use the canal on equal terms with our own shipping. In view of the wide differences of opinion shown in current treatment of this subject, it may be worth while to quote a part of our own editorial comment upon this point eleven years ago, at the time of the adoption of the treaty with England. The following sentences will suffice to show what we ourselves understood the treaty to mean at the time of its negotiation,—a view that no one then would have thought of disputing.

This new treaty, signed by our Secretary of State and the British ambassador at Washington, contains a variety of stipulations requiring the United States, after it has built its canal, to give to all other nations, both in peace and in war, exactly the same rights in the actual use of the canal that it reserves for itself. It is well known that a great many Senators thought that our State Department should simply have secured an abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Nevertheless, the new convention was ratified on December 16 by a vote of 72 to 6. The text of the treaty does not quite bear out the popular idea of a canal under absolute American control, inasmuch as we have gratuitously, in advance, pledged ourselves never to exercise control in our own interest. On some accounts it would have been much better to have had a simple declaration by Congress of its intentions as to the equal use of the canal by all nations, copies of such declaration being trans-

mitted to all foreign governments through diplomatic channels. So far as we are aware, there is no other instance in all the history of the world in which a government has proposed to take the money of its citizens by taxation for the construction of the most costly of all its public works, while pledging itself in advance that all other nations under all conditions and circumstances, without incurring any of the expense or risk, shall share in the results as freely as if they themselves were in ownership and control. The simple fact, however, is that the people of the United States seem perfectly willing to do this magnanimous thing. . . . So far as military and naval advantages are concerned the canal will naturally serve our interests more directly than those of other nations, and we can doubtless afford to be generous. Future generations of Americans will, of course, deal in their own way with this treaty as with all others. Treaties that merely express a policy, even though perpetual in their terms, can in practical effect bind only a single generation of men.

*A Curious  
Diplomatic  
Episode*

The first and also the second of the Hay-Pauncefote treaties contained stipulations that were quite preposterous. We had already proceeded very far with our plans for constructing a canal, without the slightest reference to the so-called Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. That treaty had never gone into effect, and had been regarded by all American authorities for more than a generation as non-existent, except in the historical sense. Nor had there been any attempt on the part of Great Britain to bring that lapsed and extinct convention into force. The British Government had not questioned our right to exercise full sovereignty over a strip of territory which we might, as a government, acquire either in Nicaragua or on the Isthmus of Panama. It remained for a new American Secretary of State, as a matter of personal initiative, to revive the old Clayton-Bulwer treaty and project it across the path of our legislative program as respects the canal. We had negotiated for a canal zone in Nicaragua, and were completing the passage of the Hepburn bill authorizing the construction of a canal. All this was going forward with England's hearty good wishes, and with the full understanding that no obstruction would come from any European sources, when there suddenly appeared the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty, every line of which was written by our own representative. This treaty assumed that we could not construct this government work upon our own soil without England's consent, and that we ought not to ask such consent unless we should renounce every special benefit and advantage in the use of the canal, and should also confer upon the maritime powers of Europe its full political and military control

*Our  
Great  
Renunciation*

Lord Pauncefote declared privately, before his death, that neither he nor his government had ever thought of asserting any such claims, and that the entire instrument was a voluntary offering of the American Secretary of State. There is no explanation, except that truth is stranger than fiction, and that in statesmanship the most absurd things are sometimes the things hardest to defeat. The Senate supposed that Mr. Hay was engaged in a mere formality, and that it had seemed to him a matter of politeness to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in writing, although American Presidents and Secretaries of State had repeatedly declared that no such treaty was in force. It was difficult to persuade the Senators to read the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Naturally, when they discovered its contents they amended it materially. There followed, after an interval, the second Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Mr. Hay was reluctant, but was constrained to permit the United States to exercise a certain measure of political and military control over the canal. He was, however, still determined that as respects all its practical uses, the other maritime powers should have exactly the same advantages as if the canal were their own.

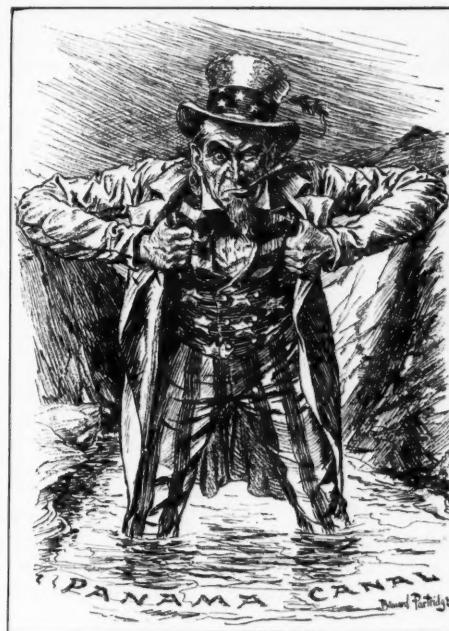
*No Reason  
for  
Any Treaty*

It should have been obvious to Senators that there was no reason for discussing canal tolls at that time, in a treaty with a foreign power. Nor had there been any demand in England or elsewhere, for an expression of our intentions regarding the charges we would make for the use of our waterway. In short, there was no need of any treaty at all, and none should have been ratified. Our government had precisely the same right to create the isthmian canal that it now has to construct one across Florida or to complete the ditch across Cape Cod. Nevertheless, we actually ratified the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, and thus gratuitously and absurdly limited our rights as respects our own canal. There was no *quid pro quo* of any sort; so that we are not under obligation to England in this matter. But we are under every sort of obligation to ourselves. We must act with frankness and honor. No improper treaty can stand, if one of the parties to it gives open and fair notice of its desire and intention to withdraw. Thus the Japanese commercial treaties were perpetual, on their face; but there was no real obligation involved in them, and Japan was justified in asserting her full rights of sovereignty over her own tariff and judicial sys-

tems, and in abrogating those treaties. As a matter of fact, the people of the United States will not, in years to come, admit any limitation upon the sovereignty they exercise over the Panama Canal. But Congress ought not to enact a law that violates a treaty without first declaring its purpose either to denounce the treaty or to secure its abrogation. Mr. Taft, to be sure, has held that the law is consistent with the treaty; but there is argumentative ground for the British view, set forth by Sir Edward Grey.

*A Purely Domestic Problem* The coastwise traffic of the United States is by law restricted to American vessels. Whether or not such vessels pay tolls in going through the Panama Canal, must always be a purely domestic question for the United States to settle without European interference. The people of the United States would not intentionally have made a treaty that could have allowed England to make an attack upon a detail of one of our domestic policies. If our law does not agree with the treaty, we are under obligation to ourselves, from the standpoint of frankness and honor, either to change the law or to change the treaty. The British argument is that, although we must not remit the tolls of our coastwise vessels, we are at liberty to pay an equivalent amount in the form of a subsidy. Since this is obviously true, as respects our vessels engaged in foreign trade as well as those in the coasting business, it is somewhat difficult to understand why England should deem it desirable to take up the question at all.

*Shall Railroads Own Ships?* Privately, it is understood that England would not have raised this quibbling point but for the insistence of the trans-continental railroads of Canada, which object to that part of the American law that forbids the canal to vessels operated by railroad companies. It is hard, indeed, to see any real value in this part of the law. If transcontinental railroads may own and operate ships, why should they be denied the privileges of the Panama Canal? It would seem possible to bring such direct pressure to bear upon railroads through the interstate commerce power as to keep them from operating steamship lines in any way that would be detrimental to shippers or unfair to independent steamship companies. But if they can own and operate ships for any purposes of commerce, it is hard to understand on what principle of public benefit they should be forbidden to pass through the canal.



UNCLE SAM MONOPOLIZING THE PANAMA CANAL  
From *Punch* (London)

*Changes in the Law are Proposed* It is now strongly urged by influential men at Washington, with much support of public opinion, that Congress should at once repeal that clause of the law which remits tolls in favor of a certain part of the tonnage passing through the canal. This would satisfy the British contention for the moment, and terminate a diplomatic controversy. It would not, however, provide a permanent settlement unless England should passively admit that, in the very nature of the case, the United States must be expected to use the canal without restriction where nothing is involved except questions that are strictly those of domestic policy. If Canada and Mexico wish to consider the canal as a domestic waterway for the purpose of their own ships engaged in trade between their Atlantic and their Pacific seaports, they are at liberty to pay the canal tolls as a subsidy, if they so desire; and they will thus be doing in effect the same thing that our government does when it proposes to remit the tolls of our own ships. For to remit these tolls has the same effect as if we collected them at one end of the canal, through an official toll-keeper, and paid them back at the other end of the canal through a treasury agent dispensing a subsidy. The American people consider themselves permanently committed to treat

all foreign ships alike in the use of the canal,—not because of any treaty but because of our impartial attitude toward all maritime nations. But it has not been the intention of the American people that any question should be raised as to our full sovereignty over the canal. That part of the Hay-Paunccefote treaty relating to canal tolls was not a bargain, but an expression of our intentions. It had no proper place in a treaty; but we must not take the position of treating lightly anything that has been cast in the treaty form.

*Women in  
Public  
Affairs*

Among the history-making events of the year 1912, perhaps no other has so permanent a significance as the action of several States in conferring the full suffrage upon women, and of several other States in taking marked steps in that direction,—while one great national party has made woman suffrage a cardinal doctrine in its creed, and the other parties have ceased to be unfriendly. The public activity of women throughout the United States was vastly greater in 1912 than in any previous year. While it cannot be shown as yet that the States in which women vote have in any marked way changed their laws, or introduced new methods or ideas into public affairs, it does not follow that the increased activity of women will not have important consequences. The quickened interest of women in matters of general concern is not by any means confined to the States where suffrage has been granted. On the contrary, it would seem that the aroused interest of intelligent women in such questions as public sanitation, housing reform, regulation of child labor, and other topics of social, industrial, and moral concern, is even more effective in some communities that have not

conferred political rights than in others where women possess full power. This is because the efforts of intelligent women, in the case of full enfranchisement, have to overcome the double obstacles afforded by the mass of unintelligent men and the equal mass of unintelligent women. Nevertheless, it is admitted that woman suffrage seems destined to prevail in the United States; and it will have made rapid gains everywhere through the complete espousal of the cause by the Progressive party.

*Historic Nature  
of Democratic  
Victory*

In the political history of the United States, the sweeping Democratic victory of 1912 will have a large place, not only because of the events leading up to it, but also, it may well be assumed, because of the consequences that will follow. Thus it will probably mean the beginning of a change in the commercial and fiscal policies of the American government. It will tend in the direction of an abandonment of discriminating tariff duties. It will probably also result in an income tax and a serious attempt to shift the burdens of taxation from the poor to the rich. It will bring about a change in the currency and banking system of the country, marked by an attempt as earnest as that of the period of Andrew Jackson to decentralize the control of the country's bank deposits and reserves and to take the money power away from Wall Street. It will signalize, also, some striking efforts to deal with the problem of regulating industrial and transportation monopolies, and financial corporations of great size and power.

*Parties and  
Our  
World-Policy*

Furthermore, the Democratic party stands committed to provide for the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands, which are now under our sovereignty. Elsewhere in this number, we publish an extended article on the attitude of this victorious party toward all of our external relationships. The Republicans have for many years pursued a definite and constructive policy. They have believed that the great growth and inherent power of the United States make it the duty of this country to bear its share of responsibility for the peace and the modernization of the world at large. Thus we have undertaken to play a great part in the West Indies and in the countries surrounding the Caribbean Sea. We have also regarded our interest in the Pacific as demanding our assumption of enlarged responsibility. We are fortifying



THE FEMALE OF THE SPECIES IS MORE CURIOUS THAN  
THE MALE  
From the *Times* (Detroit)

(Although Michigan was at first included in the number of States that went for woman suffrage, the completion of the vote-counting showed a defeat for the women, who were somewhat suspicious as to the honesty of the count)

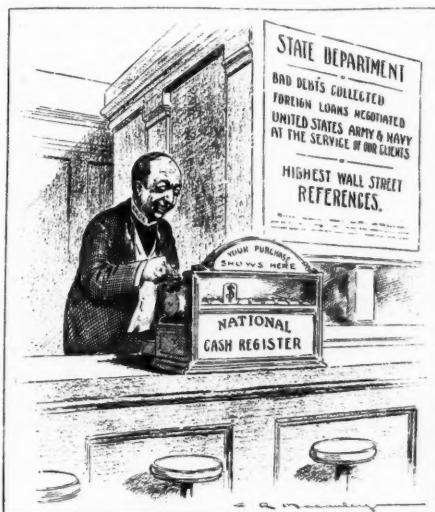
the Hawaiian Islands and carrying on a vast program of government, education, and industrial progress in the Philippines. We are completing the Panama Canal as a connection between our interests in the two oceans. We have created a large navy, and it is the conviction of the Republican party that the navy should be made still larger and more effective. The policies of sixteen years under the administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft have greatly expanded the influence and authority of the United States as a world power. Some Democrats have been in accord with this evolution, but the party's national platforms have been against it, and the attitude of the Democrats as an opposition party in Congress has, generally speaking, been opposed to each successive step in the development of this expanded policy.

*Future of the Philippines* It is to be remembered, however, that when a party comes into power it cannot always act as freely as it has talked when in opposition. Perhaps the eggs ought not to have been scrambled, but to unscramble them is not so easy. Thus the future of the Philippines can hardly be dealt with on a mere theory. Other interests have been created in the islands that are quite as real as those of the so-called Filipinos. As for the ordinary inhabitant, it is probable that for the present and the immediate future his real interests—those of personal liberty, property and



WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLMASTER BEGINS  
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

labor, family and neighborhood—are better guaranteed by the existing authority of the United States than they could be by any other governmental plan that could be substituted. Furthermore, there are large interests in the islands that belong to Americans, Spaniards, Germans, Chinese, and various other foreigners. The United States is under some obligation to safeguard these interests. Very likely a calm study of the subject will show that the best way to deal with the Philippine question is to go forward on the present lines, precisely as expounded by President Taft in his message of December 6, a portion of which we have quoted on page 92 of the present issue of the REVIEW.



THE NEW DIPLOMACY

(This cartoon illustrates the constructive business motives that Secretary Knox and the Republicans have shown in their management of foreign policies)

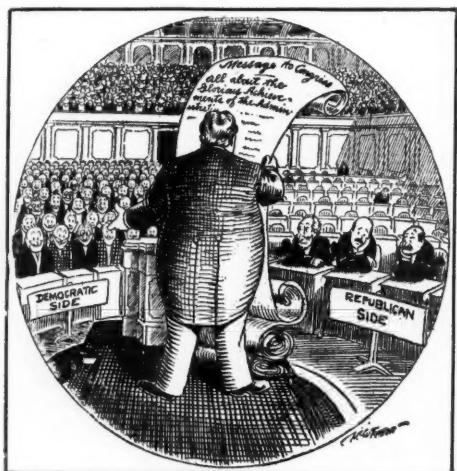
From the *World* (New York)

A century is a short time in the history of a given country or region. Having undertaken to guard the welfare and guide the progress of the Philippine Islands, it would seem as if we should have assumed that our presence will be needed for at least a hundred years. We found the islands wholly lacking in unity from any standpoint whatsoever. There was no such thing as a Filipino people, a Filipino language, or a political or economic system that made the archipelago a self-recognized entity. It has been our business to establish civil order, to provide schools, to encourage agriculture and industry, and to create local governments with a view to training as many of the native people as possible in the habits

of responsible citizenship. There cannot be a self-governing country which has few citizens capable of acting either as private voters or as public officials. It has been the purpose of the United States to make the people of the Philippine Islands capable of self-government just as rapidly as possible. No such effort has ever been made by any other government on a scale of such magnitude or with motives so unselfish. Shall we then confer independence upon the Philippines? By all means, at the earliest moment compatible with the largest measure of justice to everybody concerned. Democrats in the United States have neither more nor less wisdom than Republicans or Progressives for treatment of a problem like that of the Philippines. It is no longer a question whether we ought to have acquired the islands. If we were unwise in assuming authority, we should be all the more careful not to act hastily in abandoning what we have undertaken. Practically everybody will agree that we do not wish to follow the European powers in their dangerous and evil policies of empire-building. The inhabitants of the Philippine Islands should have self-government just as soon and as completely as they can exercise it with success. They should have national sovereignty whenever they can creditably assume the burdens and honors of a place among the nations. If they can attain such fitness by the year 1950, they will have made unprecedented progress. If they wait fifty years longer than that, they will probably be much better off.

*Suits Under  
the Sherman  
Law*

Last month brought the ending of another of the great suits under the Sherman anti-trust law brought by President Roosevelt and pending in the courts for several years. While Mr. Kellogg, of the well-known firm of St. Paul lawyers, was appointed to prosecute the case against the Standard Oil Company, his partner, Mr. Severance, was put in charge of the government's case against the railroad combination brought about by the merging under one control of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroad systems. The intense bitterness of Wall Street against President Roosevelt was largely due to the bringing of four great suits to test the authority and scope of the anti-trust act. These four cases have now been decided. The first was the Northern Securities suit, brought by Attorney-General Knox for the purpose of breaking up the unified control of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railway systems by Mr. Hill, Mr. Morgan, and their associates. Next came the Standard Oil case, then the case against the American Tobacco Company, and last, the suit to break up the combination of the so-called Harriman railroads. When the clouds and fogs of current controversy have blown away, and the truth of history stands revealed, it will probably be seen that at least nine-tenths of the bitter hostility to Mr. Roosevelt, which still keeps its virulence, has been due to the bringing of these lawsuits. The case of the government has been successful in each one of the four.



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PRESIDENT TAFT PAYS HIGH TRIBUTE TO DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPHS OF THE ADMINISTRATION  
From the *Daily Tribune* (Chicago)

*Dissolving  
Union Pacific  
System* In the case of the Pacific roads merger, the United States circuit court, by agreement of three judges (Van Devanter, Sanborn, and Adams), with one judge dissenting (Hook), had decided in favor of the defendants. In other words, the Circuit Court decided that the control of the Southern Pacific by the Union Pacific did not result in a monopoly, or a restraint of trade, contrary to the Sherman law. But the Supreme Court of the United States last month reversed the Circuit Court, and ordered that the combination be dissolved. Both benches that have passed upon this case are composed of learned and upright judges. One bench decided the matter in one way, while the other bench took a diametrically opposite view. The administration at Washington was reported by all the newspapers to be "highly elated" over the outcome. Mr. Severance, indeed, had won a professional victory which all lawyers must

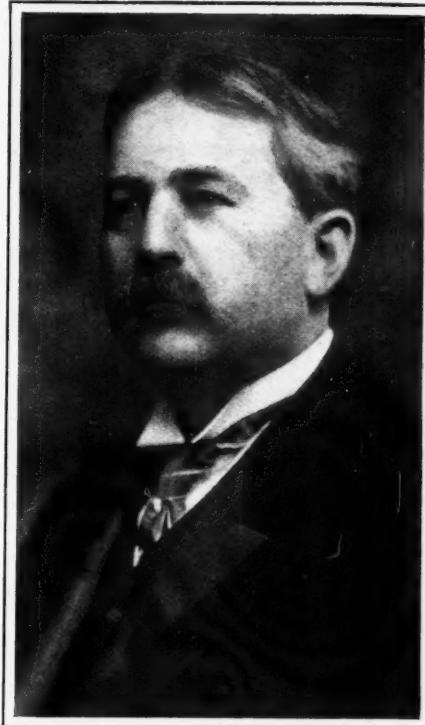
regard as notable. But why the administration should be "elated," is indeed a puzzling thing. We are told that suits may now be brought against the Pennsylvania system, the New York Central system, the Rock Island system, and one or two others, not to mention the New Haven system which is already singled out for onslaughts from a dozen other directions, besides the proposed attack under the Sherman anti-trust law.

*A Law  
that Works  
Inquiry*

It was at least to the great credit of Mr. Roosevelt, while President, that he constantly deplored the existence of so crude a piece of legislation as the Sherman anti-trust act,—a law which (as shown in this latest case) means one thing to one set of judges, another thing to another set, and only confusion to the mind of the layman. We have witnessed of late an orgy of legal attacks on large corporations under a system that works in effect very much like the machinery of law and government in France just before the Revolution. In that period in France, any man of importance might be suddenly assailed by arbitrary legal action against his person or his property. Nobody knew where the law was going to strike next. It has been like that in these recent years in the United States, allowance being duly made for changes of time and place. There are hundreds of industrial and business corporations against which the administration may bring suits at its own pleasure. Last month it happened to be the large butter dealers, with headquarters at Elgin, Illinois. For some reason, the clearing-house of the New York banks and the association called the New York Stock Exchange have not been prosecuted by the Attorney-General, although their practices, as also shown by sworn witnesses before the Congressional committee last month, would seem to the layman to be a great deal more oppressive in relation to the business of the country than many other companies or combinations that have been singled out for government prosecution.

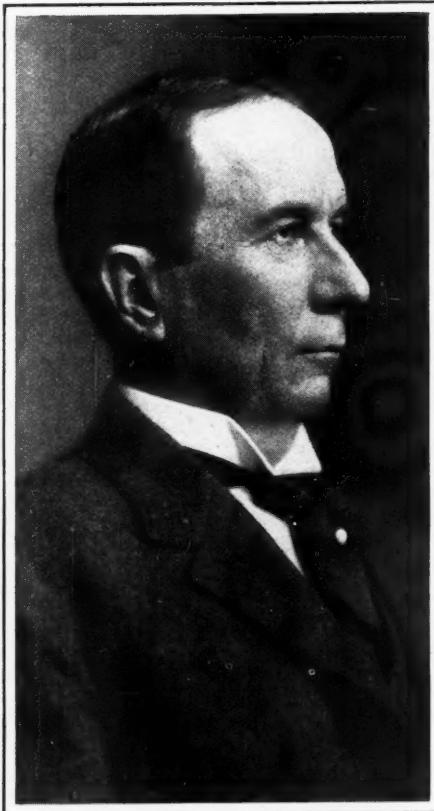
*The "Quality  
of Mercy"  
Exemplified*

Under the fostering care of the public authorities the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company have been permitted to bind up their wounds and go forth again quite prosperously. In fact, their readjustments have been the most profitable events in their respective careers of fabulous aggrandizement. Two things have happened by reason of that "quality of mercy" that is



MR. C. A. SEVERANCE OF ST. PAUL.  
(Who won the case against the railroad merger)

so becoming to victorious champions of the law. First, technical dissolution of these great companies has been followed by reorganizations highly gratifying to the "defeated" monopolists. Second, the minions of the law have been so well satisfied with winning civil suits that they have abstained from attempts to enforce the criminal features of the Sherman anti-trust law. This magazine has always frankly informed its readers that it considers the Sherman anti-trust law a humbug; and there are those who think the recent spirit and method of its enforcement a much worse thing than the law itself. Every successive "victory" in the so-called "enforcement" of that statute, only shows how bad is the law and how dangerous is the power reposed in a political administration, to pick and choose here and there among the great corporations,—this one being prosecuted and that one being spared. Those who dominate the railroad systems that Mr. Harriman had brought under united control, seem to be in no way disturbed by what has happened. Outside investors and stockholders will be unfortunately placed in this reorganization, as in all the preceding



MR. ROBERT S. LOVETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF UNION PACIFIC AND SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROADS

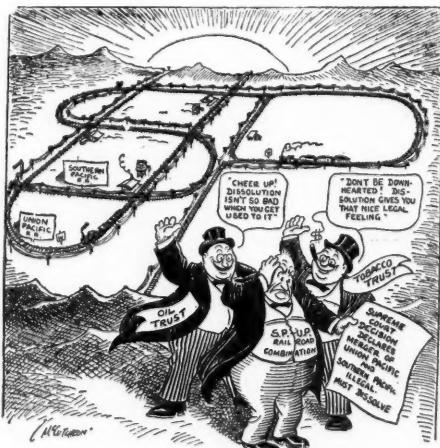
(Mr. Lovett's abilities as a lawyer and railroad manager are held in such high repute that the financial world sees no disasters ahead for the properties under his administration. It is thought likely that the court decision will result in a rearrangement favorable to all the lines involved)

cases. Favored individuals will have abundant opportunity to increase their own wealth. Railroad rates are no longer fixed by what the courts call competition, but by the direct or indirect authority of public commissions. It has taken four years to find out whether the successors of Mr. Harriman were obeying the law or were breaking it.

*Democrats, Adopt Some Plan!* It is quite time for honest and intelligent men to speak plainly about a scandalous condition that no other country would tolerate. It makes comparatively little difference whose theory is adopted. There should be a law that can be understood, and one that can be easily and simultaneously enforced. Nothing in those recent court decisions should be thought to relieve the Democrats of a duty that the Re-

publicans have lacked the courage to perform. The country can do business under Mr. Bryan's plan of dealing with trusts and corporations, or it can get along with Mr. Martin Littleton's. Senator Cummins is prepared to defend his carefully prepared bills, that would provide a method under which the business of the country could go forward. Three years ago Mr. Wickersham had a constructive plan which, with some amendments, would have provided a useful remedy. Let it be hoped that President Wilson and his Cabinet will join with the Democratic leaders in Congress to provide a plain, practical way of dealing with trusts and combinations. Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, the well-known Boston lawyer, had much to say upon this subject during the recent campaign, and he endeavored to impress his views upon the President-elect. Let us have these views put in the form of a bill and subjected to discussion from the standpoint of actual legislation.

*New England's Railroad System* The newspapers have been quite persistent in the suggestion that Mr. Brandeis is to be made Attorney-General. However that may be, the country has much more need of his talent in helping to secure a proper law than in bringing suits against corporations under the existing statute. It happens that Mr. Brandeis has taken a leading part in the current attacks upon the management of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company. For many years past there has been no time when this New England corporation has not been under criticism



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U. P. AND S. P. RAILROADS TO BE UNSCRAMBLED  
From the Tribune (Chicago)

from some source. But last month found it under fiercer fire, perhaps, than any railroad system in the country has hitherto faced. The attacks have been largely directed against the president of the road, Mr. Charles S. Mellen. Mr. Mellen was born in Massachusetts and began his railroad career as a clerk while in his 'teens. In that period New England had a great number of separate railroad companies, owning and operating small roads. The company of which Mr. Mellen is president to-day controls almost the entire transportation system of New England. What is known as the "New Haven System" has resulted from the consolidation of perhaps forty companies that once operated independent lines. In addition to its own properties, the New Haven system also controls a good deal of mileage under leases.

*Mr. Mellen's  
Remarkable  
Career*

Mr. Mellen had grown up in New England railroading until in 1896 he was made president of the Northern Pacific. But ten years ago he came back to the East as president of the New Haven. He brought with him the reputation of a man of very broad views and frank speech, who took the public into his confidence and who believed that the interest of a railroad company was bound up with that of the communities which it served. Mr. Mellen's career during the past ten years has been very remarkable for its ceaseless activity in building up for his company a unified control over the transportation business of the northeast corner of the United States. The most important New England system apart from his own was the Boston and Maine. This road was so unpopular that Mr. Mellen's acquisition of it was regarded as a public boon. In conjunction with the New York Central, he acquired the Boston and Albany; and by several other strategic acquisitions, he sought to improve his Western and Southern connections. He entered upon a policy of acquiring electric roads as feeders, and brought the coastwise steamship lines into association with his railroads.

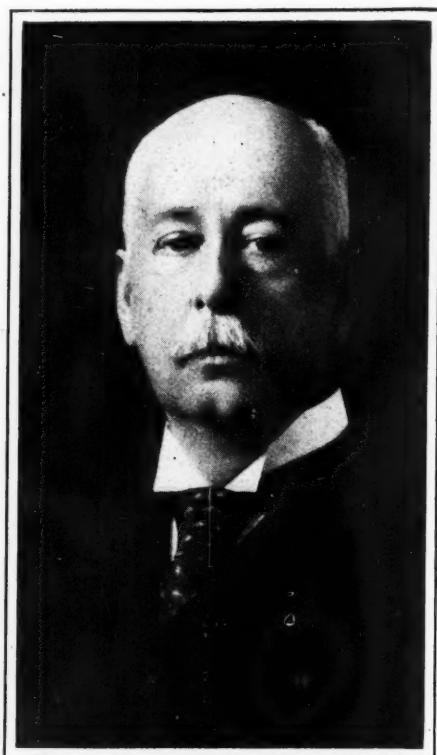
*Grounds of  
Hostile  
Criticism*

All this policy of acquisition has been accompanied by a great deal of expenditure to improve trackage, terminals, and railroad service. The kind of railroading now practiced on the New Haven system is very different from that of the small New England lines of forty years ago. Several things have happened to precipitate the present attacks. There have



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MR. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

been some deplorable accidents on the main line between New York and Boston. In its latest report, published last month, the Interstate Commerce Commission severely criticizes American railroads for neglect of the measures and precautions that would have prevented most of the recent loss of life by accidents to passenger trains. It does not appear that the New Haven road is worse than others in these regards. It is probably better than most roads. The most acute cause of criticism, however, has been the abandonment of a piece of trackage that the Grand Trunk Railway (which is a Canadian system) had begun to build to Providence, Rhode Island. Mr. Hays, the energetic president of the Grand Trunk, who was one of the victims of the *Titanic* disaster, had undertaken to build a short piece of road as a branch to connect with the Central Vermont's line (controlled and operated by the Grand Trunk) from Montreal to New London, Connecticut. It seems that Mr. Chamberlin, the new head of the Grand Trunk system, has been able to make a satisfactory traffic arrangement with the New Haven system, so that he does not find it necessary to complete the projected new piece of road.

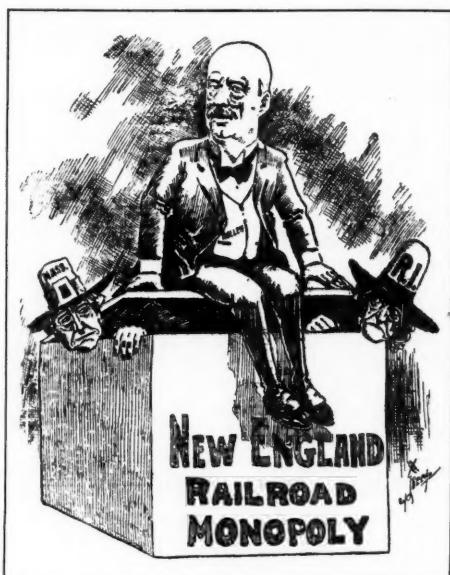


MR. CHARLES S. MELLEN

*The Complaint  
of  
Providence* Towns and cities naturally like to have new railroad outlets; and Rhode Island has been stirred up because its much proclaimed new artery of trade was given up, after charters had been granted and expenditure for right of way and grading had been incurred. All the local State railroad commissions of New England are in action, and many governors and mayors are vying with each other in pointing out Mr. Mellen's sins of omission and commission. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been invoked, and the Department of Justice is expected to bring suit to break up the merger of the New Haven road with the Boston and Maine. Mr. Brandeis, meanwhile, declares the best solution to be the ownership and operation of certain main lines directly by the State of Massachusetts. Out of all this excitement, it is to be hoped that the public welfare may make some substantial gains. It would seem that the policy most difficult to defend is that of acquiring electric trolley lines all over New England. The New Haven is said to have paid an unduly high price for many of these local trolley systems. But this, after all, is a question

that more directly concerns the New Haven stockholders.

*Blaming  
the  
Wrong People* It seems for the time being to have been forgotten that there is ample public authority in New England to require all transportation companies to give good service at reasonable rates. If the people are not obtaining satisfactory treatment from trolley lines, railroad lines, or steamship companies, they should call to account their own public authorities. We are prone in this country to blame the wrong people. A harmonized system of transportation ought to be a benefit to New England, rather than otherwise. But complaisant politicians and public officials are an offense there, as in every other community. Spasmodic attacks upon the president of the New Haven railroad system cannot remedy such harm as may have come from the lack of unceasing, intelligent, and honest supervision of every phase and detail of transportation service by the State and municipal authorities. It would seem as if Mr. Mellen had, upon the whole, made a rather enviable record; while many of those who should have safeguarded the public interest,—being put into office and paid salaries for that purpose,—have a good deal less to their credit. It is at least certain that the New Haven will try to improve its record for safety.



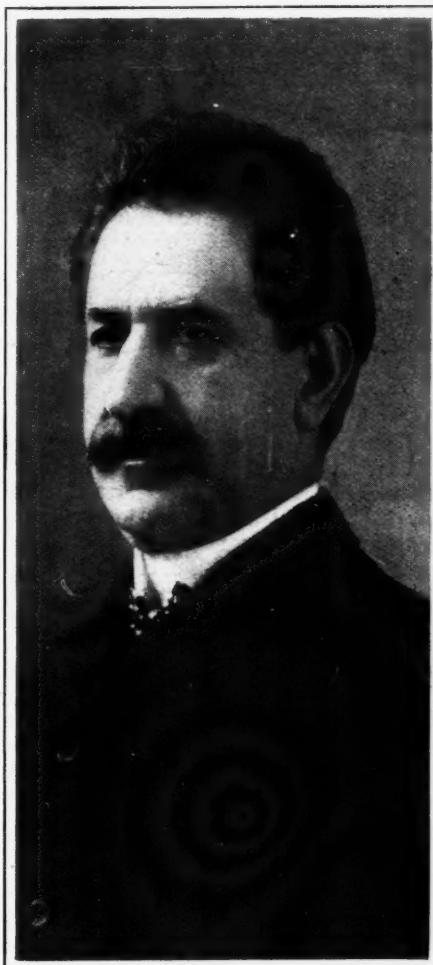
THE LID WON'T STAY "PUT"  
From the *Press* (New York)

*Probing  
the  
Money Trust*

There are many things to be improved in the business system and economic conditions of this country; but little of value can come to pass through attacking established enterprises with lawsuits. The necessary remedies must be secured through constructive statesmanship. Mr. Samuel Untermyer, the prominent New York lawyer, acting as counsel for the House Committee on Banking and Currency at Washington, has been probing the so-called "Money Trust," with disclosures that have attracted wide attention. Under the present banking conditions, the reserves of the country gravitate to New York, where also is centered the financial control of the largest railroad, industrial, and insurance companies. There has been a rapid concentration of banks and trust companies of New York, in consequence of which a very small number of bankers and financiers in Wall Street have a larger power over the management of deposits and loanable funds than has ever been known before, in this or any other country. To those familiar with financial affairs, the facts brought to light at Washington are not wholly new or surprising. But the nature and extent of the employment of the loanable funds of banks to support the stupendous volume of speculation on the Stock Exchange, is a matter that has never before been so clearly brought out. Some of these tendencies are not wholesome and ought to be corrected without delay.

*Good Men  
and  
Bad Systems*

It does not follow, however, that the individual men at the head of the New York banks, or those prominent in the Stock Exchange, are more guilty of punishable offenses than thousands of other bankers and business men throughout the country. Most of these men are much better than the average, and they are not governed by sinister motives,—although this exoneration is not meant to apply to certain men who have manipulated the stock market with the deliberate purpose of robbing small shareholders and innocent investors. But however free from evil intent the men of high finance may be, everybody should know that such men have derived their undue power from a bad banking and currency system, and from other loose conditions that ought to be remedied. Since the Aldrich plan of monetary reform is opposed by the Democrats, it is incumbent upon the new political leaders to agree upon a plan of their own, and, above all things, to adopt it and put it into effect. We have been promised a



MR. SAMUEL UNTERMYER, OF NEW YORK

revision of the tariff in a special session of the new Congress to be called for that purpose soon after President Wilson's inauguration in March. But, however much we may need to have the tariff question settled for a time, there is far greater need of settling the currency question. Of all the great business countries, ours is the one most likely to have panics and disasters growing out of a disturbance of credit. Yet no other large country has business conditions that are so uniformly favorable from the fundamental standpoints of agriculture, industry, transportation, and social stability. With the right kind of banking and currency system we ought to have less danger of panics than any other country. It is to be hoped that Mr. Untermyer's inquiry will not merely expose

conditions that need reforming, but will also help to find and to apply the best and simplest remedy for bad conditions.

*Progress in Social Conditions* Various questions having to do with the relations of labor and capital have engaged public attention in the year now ended; and never has there been a time when these questions have been so generally considered from the standpoint of human welfare. A great impetus has been given to social reform in this country by the programs of Mr. Lloyd-George and the humanitarian statesmen of Great Britain and Germany. A year or two ago the very idea of the "minimum wage" was rank heresy, even among many social reformers. To-day, the idea of wage commissions to promote decent standards, especially where women and children are employed, may be regarded as accepted even by the conservatives. A year or two ago, the opponents of injurious forms of child labor were finding it hard to make headway against public apathy and private greed. Everything is different now, and the children's cause is widely proclaimed. The principle of workmen's compensation has overcome all theoretical opposition, and its application awaits only the necessary removal of legal obstacles. In a hundred indirect ways, movements are on foot to give the wage-earner and his family a better chance for comfort and happiness. For a good deal of this awakened interest in human welfare thanks are due to the amazing vigor with which Colonel Roosevelt and the Progressive party have proclaimed the doctrine that it ought to be the business of a people's government to better the people's condition in every practicable way.

*Wages and Railroads* One of the concrete issues involving labor and capital last year was the controversy between the locomotive engineers and the railroads of the territory east of the Mississippi River and north of the Potomac and Ohio. This controversy was settled by the plan of leaving the points at issue to a board of arbitration. The report of the Board was not announced until late in November. The engineers had demanded a standardizing of their pay on all the roads, together with a large increase in average compensation for each of several classes of service. While the award of the board did not go nearly as far as the demands of the engineers, it made marked advances in the direction of wiping out sur-

viving anomalies and giving a standard character to the important public service rendered by the man who drives a locomotive. The plan adopted was to fix the minimum wage for men in the passenger service, the fast freight service, the local service, and so on. Many improvements were made in the rules governing conditions of work. Apart from the award in the concrete issues before them, the arbitrators felt it necessary to emphasize the serious public aspects of the controversy. A strike of locomotive engineers on all the railroads would paralyze business and cause untold human misery and financial loss. The public has interests and rights that require the continuous operation of such public utilities as railroads. The arbitrators urged that railroad strikes should be wholly superseded by some method, provided by law, for the just settlement of differences between the men and the companies. It was proposed that a wage commission, somewhat analogous to the present Interstate Commerce Commission, should have cognizance of all labor disputes upon interstate railroads, with a view to settlements that would lead to the abandonment of strikes. But while railway employees deplore strikes, they are very reluctant to surrender the leverage that their strong unions and brotherhoods have given them. The subject is one of increasing importance, and its problems will have to be squarely met. Railway workers, like teachers and physicians, should be regarded as "soldiers of the common good." Their service is arduous, but highly responsible. The public must see that their pay is just and that their conditions of life and work are such as to bring contentment.

*Justice, Before All Things*

However men may strain arguments to put their political opponents in the wrong, the one great issue in this country is that of social justice. Last month the Governor of Arkansas, in despair over the frightful evils of convict-labor camps and of maladministration of criminal law through unfit judges, created an object-lesson by pardoning and releasing 360 convicts at one stroke. Many of these prisoners were serving long terms for trivial offenses, and were sold as slaves to private contractors. The State of Massachusetts is supposed to be foremost in the dealing out of justice to common men under accusation. Yet it was not until the beginning of December that the cases of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso were disposed of, although they had been arrested on charges



JOSEPH CARUSO

JOSEPH J. ETTOR

ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

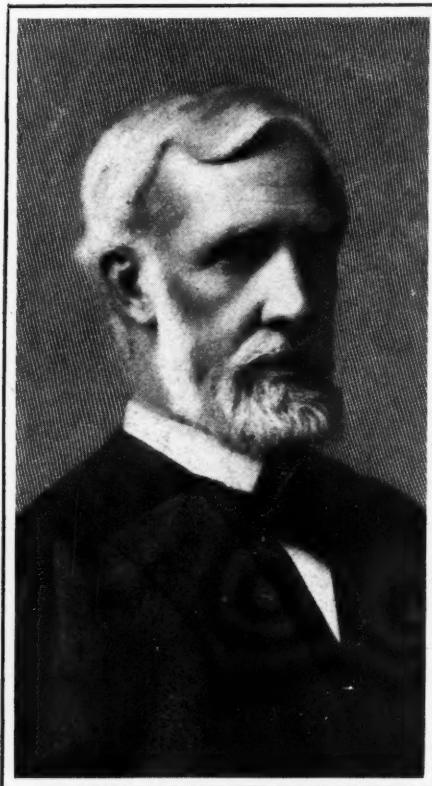
THE THREE MEN WHO WERE FOUND INNOCENT OF MURDER AND RELEASED AT SALEM, MASS.,  
AFTER TEN MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT

connected with the strike at Lawrence in the month of January. They were released and given their freedom as innocent men. But they had been held in prison in Massachusetts from January 30 until November 26, a period of ten months. Joseph J. Ettor was an officer of the labor organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World. Arturo Giovannitti is an Italian Socialistic writer of marked ability. Joseph Caruso was one of the striking mill-workers at Lawrence.

*A Case  
in  
Massachusetts* It may be remembered that during the period of disorder at Lawrence, almost a year ago, a woman was accidentally killed by a stray shot. Caruso was accused of having fired the revolver. The charges against Ettor and Giovannitti were that they were leaders of the strike and that their words had incited disorder and violence. They were all indicted for the crime of having murdered the woman who was accidentally shot. There was no clear evidence that Caruso had done the shooting; and to attempt to make out the Etto and Giovannitti as guilty of a specific act of murder in this case was, to say the least, carrying matters rather far. For if they had been found guilty, it would have been easy enough to have used the same kind of argument and evidence to convict at least a thousand other people who had spoken with passion or acted with turbulence

at some time during the strike. Fortunately, a sensible and wise judge and a fair-minded jury saved the reputation of Massachusetts by setting the prisoners free. But let it be remembered that they had been kept in prison for nearly a year.

*The Trial  
at  
Indianapolis* The trial was in Salem, where, in an earlier period of orthodoxy and fanaticism, scores of people were tortured and imprisoned as users of witchcraft, and twenty were executed. We have also to-day some wrong-headed people who would punish labor-leaders and strikers as conspirators against a beneficent economic order. But the danger is past, and practical justice is the almost universal desire. But in these conflicts between labor and capital, justice must be even-handed. If innocent labor leaders are set free in Salem, it does not follow that guilty labor leaders should be set free at Indianapolis. The McNamara trial in Los Angeles brought to light enough evidence of dynamite plots to justify an attempt to secure further convictions. The trials have been going on in the federal court at Indianapolis, Judge A. B. Anderson presiding and District Attorney C. W. Miller prosecuting. Forty-one labor-union officials have been under indictment and trial for complicity in dynamite outrages, nearly all of which were associated with strikes or disputes of the structural iron-workers and



JUSTICE JOHN W. GOFF, OF NEW YORK

(A great power for the swift enforcement of law and justice)

bridge builders. These unions of workmen have a fair chance under our laws and customs; and the resort to dynamite is the blackest infamy.

*Police Reform  
in  
New York* In an introductory foreword to a remarkable new book, entitled "Modern Philanthropy," Mrs. Mary W. Harriman has in the following paragraph expressed the spirit and meaning of the great democratic movement that is asserting itself in all countries:

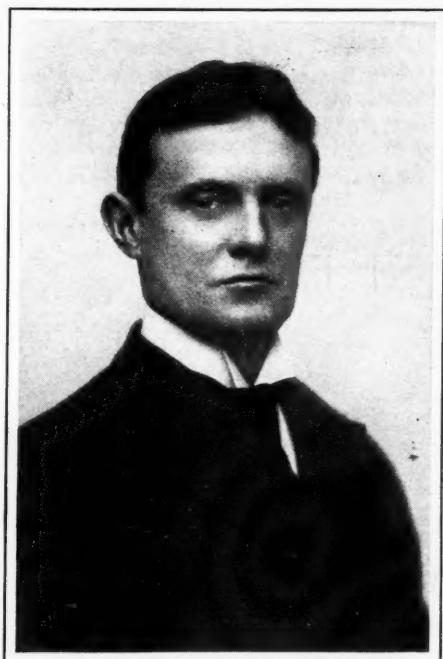
The world over, it is recognized that the welfare of the government is bound up with the welfare of the individual and that the strength of the family is as the strength of each member. Why not concentrate united individual efforts upon making efficient government everywhere? Instead of being satisfied with intense individualism, let that individualism lead the way to establishing good government for the benefit of all. To-day there are very strong signs of a general awakening to the advantage of such coöperation.

Mrs. Harriman has shown her practical faith in these ideas by large support of efforts toward improved efficiency in the adminis-

tration and public services upon which the welfare of the teeming millions of New York City must depend. She is helping to maintain agencies that can interpret the trend of things, as well as guide the methods of reform when a great community is stirred up as by current police disclosures in New York. A proper study shows that there is no reason to be either bewildered or disheartened about American municipal conditions. It is possible to analyze the problems of city government, to discover the causes and extent of failure, and to apply remedies.

*What Has  
Been  
Happening* Last summer it was shown in a startling way that the New York

police were in collusion with illegal gambling resorts, were protecting them for pay on a regular system, and were ready to resort to any means to save themselves and their graft. A gambler, threatening to tell tales, was murdered by direct instigation of a high police officer. An energetic District Attorney secured the conviction not only of the unfortunate gamblers who shot the gambler, but also of the official who employed them. The protection of gambling by policemen in New York is as old as the State laws that make gambling places illegal.



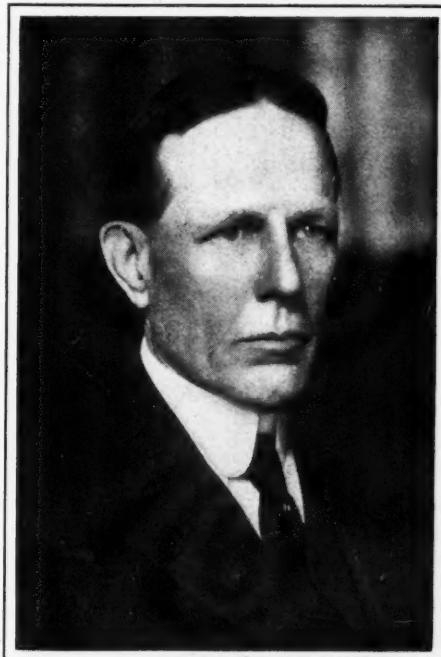
DISTRICT ATTORNEY CHARLES S. WHITMAN

(Whose vigorous work, free from partisanship, is helping to improve conditions in New York and indicating his probable choice as the next mayor)

The thing that marked this recent episode was the swiftness of the law in finding the criminals and securing their conviction and sentence. There have been further revelations of organized graft in the protection of other forms of evil that State laws proscribe. Much good can come from a thoroughgoing enforcement of the laws, and a frank attempt to break up police collusion. But a careful study of the situation shows that the police force of a great city should not be charged with what may be called the "moral administration." The laws should be changed in character, and should be made honest and enforceable in their penalties. If saloons should be closed on Sunday, the obvious punishment for breaking the law is to cancel the license of the saloon-keeper and to refuse the granting of another license to the same property for a term of years. The present law is not sincere, and it leads inevitably to police graft. Policemen ought to be men of trustworthy character. A part of their duty is to protect the law-abiding community against the dishonest and the disorderly. But if policemen by previous contacts are in sympathy with members of the criminal or corrupt classes, their official power merely increases their opportunity for harm. No man should ever be employed as a policeman in any community, whose record has not been thoroughly searched and found satisfactory, on the positive as well as on the negative side. The stirring up of the police situation in New York indicates progress rather than decline in the direction of good government.

*Various Affairs of State*

The President-elect returned in the middle of December from a month of restful vacation with his family in Bermuda. Democratic politicians and party newspapers had been busy meanwhile making and unmaking cabinets. The opinion had grown at Washington that Mr. William J. Bryan would be offered the position of Secretary of State and that he would accept it. The earlier opposition within the party to this suggestion had almost entirely disappeared. The Republican leaders, including such men as Senators Gallinger, Penrose, and Smoot, President Taft, ex-Speaker Cannon, Mr. Barnes of New York, and many others, were said to favor the plan of giving the Democrats the fullest opportunity to revise the tariff, deal with the currency and pass an income tax, regulate trusts, and change the country's colonial and foreign policies. The theory of these Republican leaders is said to be that the Democrats would

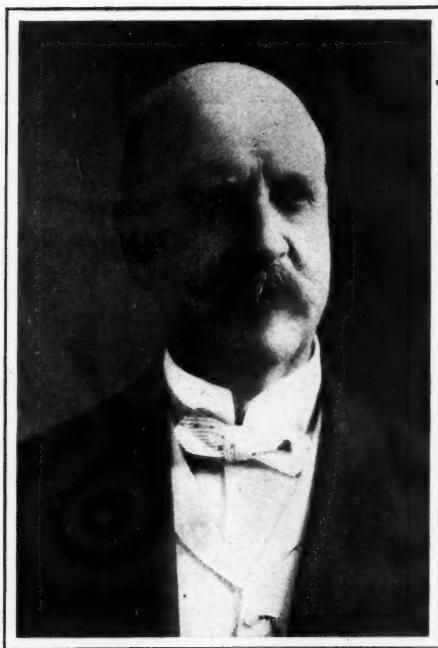


JUDGE ALBERT B. ANDERSON

(In whose court at Indianapolis the dynamite plotters are under trial)

thus quickly bring on a panic, and the country would lose no time in calling the Republicans back to power. But this program is just a little too easy to be quite convincing. The country is growing more fastidious as respects individual leadership, and much less prejudiced as respects parties. We have reached the time when the people would even trust a good Democrat in preference to a bad Republican. Meanwhile President Taft made another trip to Panama last month, and the chief topic in the Washington newspapers has been the plans for the inauguration of President Wilson. Congress has been conducting investigations, impeaching a judge, working on routine appropriation bills, and getting ready for the new dispensation. The Democrats are not anxious to encourage Mr. Taft in making appointments. He has made several good ones, however, notably that of Mr. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore, to be minister at Brussels.

*Progressive Party Plans* A conference was held last month in Chicago by representatives of the Progressive party from practically every State in the Union. The purpose of the gathering was to formulate plans



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## SENATOR AUGUSTUS O. BACON, OF GEORGIA

(Senator Bacon and Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire have been chosen as alternative presidents of the Senate, to perform the duties of the late Vice-President Sherman. Senator Bacon will probably in the next Congress be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee)

for perfecting the party organization and pushing its propaganda. It was decided to establish a permanent publicity bureau and a permanent legislative reference bureau in Washington. Such procedure is something of a novelty in American party politics, although entirely in accord with the declared objects of the Progressive party and in fact essential to the attainment of those objects. The purpose of the legislative bureau is to gather information from all sources relating to the form and actual effect of laws now in force or proposed for enactment. Such a bureau has been maintained for some years by the State of Wisconsin, but there is need of a national agency of this kind. The Progressives now undertake to perform this service not merely for the benefit of legislators, but for the general good.

*A Serious Program* To this end the party's executive committee will send to Europe a commission of seven members to study the legislation of England, Germany, and other countries, and all the information obtained by this commission will be made available to the public through the legislative bureau. In this country we have not yet

learned to think of a political party as an organization for research. Aids to constructive legislation have not heretofore come from the party managers. The Progressive party, however, offers its platform as a program of action. Its candidates who were elected to Congress and to State legislatures are pledged to offer bills embodying the platform promises. These measures, the Progressive leaders assert, propose nothing that has not already been tried in some State or foreign country, and it will be the business of the legislative bureau to find out just how these proposed laws operate under various conditions. For the first time in our history one of the great parties seriously undertakes, as a party, to carry out definite constructive policies.

*Republican Prospects* The plans of the Progressives are made without reference to the conduct of either of the old parties,

and their working out is not in any way contingent on action that may be taken by the Democratic majority or the Republican minority in Congress. The Republicans, on the other hand, are compelled to shape their course, to a certain extent, with regard to Democratic action on the tariff and on other public questions. Thus for the time being the Republican leaders have no aggressive program. There is a growing sentiment in the Republican ranks in favor of a revision of the rules for representation in national conventions. Some of the party leaders now take the ground that representation of the Southern States should be more nearly on the basis of party strength. President Butler, of Columbia University, who is one of this number, advocates the calling of a national convention in 1913 for a reorganization of the party, a new apportionment of delegates, and a renewed declaration of party faith. This convention would be open to all voters willing to stand on the Republican platform of 1912, without regard to which candidate they supported in the election last fall.

*Dr. Butler on "Progress in Politics"* On December 14, Dr. Butler made an address in Chicago entitled "What Is Progress in Politics?" He describes progress as "moving forward to the consideration and solution of new problems with intelligence and sympathy, and in the full light of experience gained and principles established in the past." Dr. Butler holds firmly to our system of written constitutions as limiting the power of executives and legislatures; but would have

the framework of government more flexible and make it easier to amend constitutions. He would also improve nominating methods and make party machinery more responsive to public opinion. He would elect comparatively few State and local officers, and favors in a general way the principle known as the "short ballot." He would have legislation expertly drafted, and thus avoid the passage of crude laws. He would give Cabinet officers seats in both houses of Congress, in order to answer questions and share in debate. He would have a newly elected Congress enter upon its duties soon after the election, like a State legislature. He does not believe in control of political party machinery by law. With a few reforms of machinery and method, he would leave concrete problems of legislation and administration to be dealt with on their merits. He would reform the currency; reform public expenditure and adopt the budget plan; reform judicial procedure; make taxation more direct; improve social conditions "for those who live on the very margin of want"; promote self-help by preventing many difficulties and injustices now existing in society; deal with business in such a way as to "keep open the channels both of competition and of useful combination"; go forward with the policy of conserving natural resources; hold a place of leadership in the world in promoting international peace and the judicial settlement of disputes. There is little in President Butler's address that could not be heartily endorsed by public-spirited men of all parties.



"MY, HOW YOU'VE GROWN!"

(Referring to the Bull Moose conference held at Chicago four months after the party's organization)

From the *Press* (New York)



MR. THEODORE MARBURG, OF BALTIMORE  
(Our new minister to Belgium)

*Canadian  
Naval  
Policy*

The announcement of the Canadian naval policy was received with much satisfaction in London. The reception accorded in Canada to the government program is varied. There is some opposition to it among the Liberals, who refer to it as a policy of tribute. The Liberal press takes the Premier to task for playing politics and refusing to put the matter, before decision, to a referendum of the people as he had promised the Quebec French Nationalists to do. As we have already noted, Mr. F. D. Monk, the Minister of Public Works, resigned some weeks ago as a protest against the government's refusal to make a referendum to the people in this matter. It is predicted that Mr. Borden will have some difficulty in getting his bill through the Parliament, although Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the opposition leader, has complimented the Premier on his temperate statement, and the Liberal party, as an organization, is not certain to oppose the measure. The Nationalists of Quebec, however, led by Mr. Monk and Mr. Bourassa, are pledged against it. In a long article which appears in the last number of the London quarterly, the *Round Table*, a summary of which we present on

page 95, we give the point of view of the various sections of the Dominion. The Borden statement aroused considerable interest in continental capitals, particularly in Berlin, where there was a good deal of speculation as to whether Canada's contribution to the navy would mean a slackening of Britain's Imperial building or whether it would be an addition thereto.

*How Britain's Colonies Help the Navy* Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, speaking in the House of Commons, on December 9, averred that he but set forth the view of the Canadian government when he declared that

The aid given by Canada [three battleships at an aggregate cost of \$35,000,000] should be in addition to the existing British program and that any steps Canada might take should directly strengthen the naval forces of the Empire and the margin available for its security.

This contribution from Canada is sixth in order from the British dominions. In reply to the imperial "suggestion" Australia has already contributed one dreadnought cruiser and will add other warships later. New Zealand has given one dreadnought cruiser. The federated Malay States have contributed one dreadnought battleship. India, represented by her independent rulers and princes, has announced that she will present three super-dreadnoughts and nine first-class armored cruisers. The South African government is now conferring with the British Admiralty on the subject, but has already announced that it is in favor of providing six small cruisers. When the Dominion's contribution is completed, the Imperial navy will have received from the loyal dependencies six super-dreadnoughts, one dreadnought battleship, two dreadnought cruisers, nine first-class armored cruisers and six smaller cruisers. Canadian press comment generally maintains that this contribution of warships to the Imperial navy means that the British Empire has outgrown its organization, and that it is about to be rejuvenated with the assistance of its children. Accordingly Canada is to have a permanent member of the Imperial Defense Commission. The eldest daughter of the Empire announces that she is grown up and is able to discuss Imperial affairs to her mother's face and in her mother's house.

*Britain's Canal Protest* The formal protest of the British government against that provision of the Panama Canal act (passed by the Senate on Aug. 9) which exempts American coastwise ships from paying

tolls, was submitted by Ambassador Bryce to Secretary Knox on December 9. The statement, which bears the signature of Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, is an amplification of the original note of protest by the British Chargé d'Affaires on July 8 last. It is a lengthy statement of the British contention that the legislation favoring American ships is a violation of the rights of Great Britain as set forth in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901. The British argument rests on two chief points: First, that in interpreting the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, which superseded the Bulwer-Clayton Treaty of 1850, the British government understands that it retained for itself the guarantee of equal treatment of its vessels within the canal as compensation for returning to the United States (in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty), the right to construct the canal independently, a right surrendered by the United States in the earlier agreement. The second is that if American ships are granted the free use of the canal, British ships passing through that waterway will be forced to bear more than a proper share of the burden of maintenance. This, the note claims, is in violation of that clause of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, which declared that all charges made by the United States for the use of the canal shall be "just and equitable." It appears, says the note, that

The intention of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was that the United States was to recover the right to construct the Trans-Isthmian canal upon the terms that when constructed the waterway was to be open to British and United States ships on equal terms.

*List of the British Position* Sir Edward Grey dissents unequivocally from the argument in President Taft's proclamation sent to the Senate (on Nov. 13), that the United States has been excepted from the application of the phrase "all nations" in the treaty. The note does not question the right of the United States "to exercise belligerent rights for its protection" in the canal zone. The substance of the entire note may be found in this paragraph.

His Majesty's Government do not question the right of the United States to grant subsidies to United States shipping generally, or to any particular branches of that shipping, but it does not follow, therefore, that the United States may not be debarred by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty from granting a subsidy to certain shipping in a particular way, if the effect of the method chosen for granting such subsidies would be to impose upon British or other foreign shipping an unfair share of the burden of the upkeep of the canal, or to create a

discrimination in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise to prejudice rights secured to British shipping by this treaty.

The British government, says the note further, has not failed to take

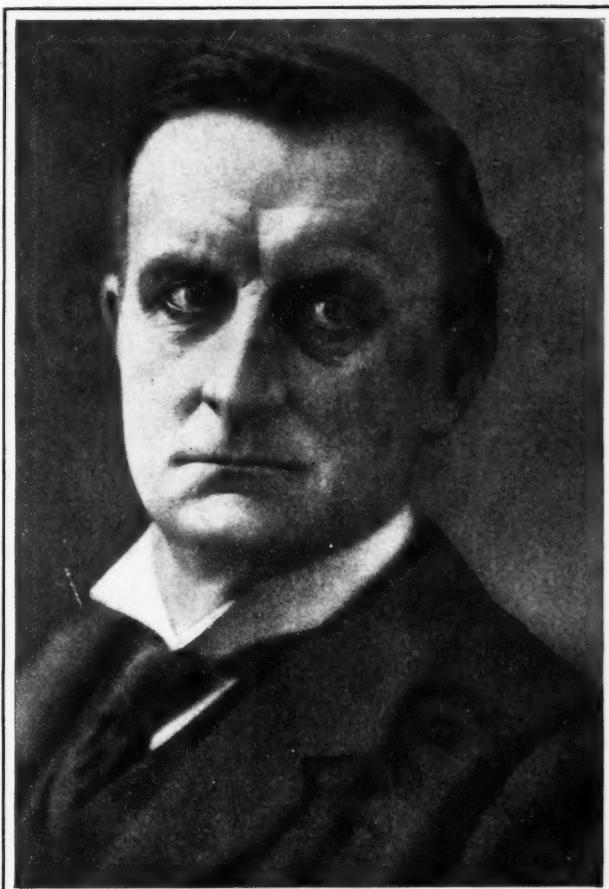
cognizance of the fact that many persons of note in the United States, whose opinions are entitled to great weight, hold that the act of Congress in question does not infringe the treaty obligations of the United States, therefore, the British government is perfectly willing to submit the question to arbitration, if the United States prefers.

The significant sentence is then added:

A reference to arbitration would be rendered unnecessary if the Government of the United States should be prepared to take such steps as would remove the objections to the act which his Majesty's Government have stated.

*British Opinion on the Protest* In closing, the note states that it is "only with great reluctance" that the British government has "felt bound to raise objections" and has "confined its objections within the narrowest possible limits," recognizing "in the fullest

manner the rights of the United States to est and that it will not be pressed." The control the canal." The complete text of the protest was considered at a cabinet meeting on the day following its reception. The preparation of the American reply, it is expected, will take several months. The British press is unanimous in upholding the contents of the note and generally expresses the hope that President Taft will settle the Panama question before the close of his administration. The London journals agree in the contention that if the United States government is not prepared to modify the canal act, it cannot refuse Sir Edward Grey's invitation to submit the question to The Hague for arbitration. The *Times* pointedly remarks that the "studied courtesy and moderation" of the note must not be construed in the United States to signify "that the protest was not made in earn-



BRITAIN'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SIR EDWARD GREY

(Whose Panama Canal protest and leadership in the settlement of the Balkan war made him last month a dominant world figure)

*The Liberal Reforms in England* Very slowly but none the less surely, the social reform program of the Liberal government in Great Britain, under the chief leadership of Chancellor Lloyd-George, is being carried out to completion. Despite the tactics of the opposition in Parliament and the Ulster agitators outside, the Irish Home Rule bill was put through the committee stage on schedule time, with the exception of the ten days' delay resulting from the "accident" of November

12 (the "snap vote" obtained by the opposition to an amendment) to which we referred last month. The Home Rule bill passed its first reading in the Commons April 16, and its second on May 9, each time by substantial majorities. The measure was then referred to a committee of the whole House. Home Rule and Welsh disestablishment were advanced together and the final committee stage was not reached until June 11. The setback of November 12 was "corrected" later by the full government majority. The government announces that it intends to pass through the Commons before Parliament "rises" on March 30, the three important measures of Home Rule for Ireland, Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, and the reform of the franchise, the chief clause of the last of which is the abolition of plural voting. The Asquith Ministry expects that the House of Lords will at once reject the Home Rule bill. Two years must then elapse before it can become law by the action of the Commons alone. It is expected also that the opposition will attempt to force dissolution and a new election on this issue of Home Rule. The Unionists have been gaining in the bye-elections during the past two years. Unless, however, they present a constructive plan of Irish administrative reform as a substitute for the present bill, it does not seem likely that they can carry the country.

*Land Laws  
and  
Others*      The Asquith Ministry, furthermore, is intending to devote its attention immediately to the

thorny subject of breaking up the large landed estates. These properties "being lightly taxed and often entailed, tend to monopolize the land and drive the rural population into the cities or abroad." In these words, Chancellor Lloyd-George, in a speech at Aberdeen last month, vigorously denounced the "present iniquitous land laws." The Dominions of Australia and New Zealand are solving this problem more quickly than the mother country. They are already beginning to promote rural prosperity by buying up estates and selling them to settlers in small holdings and on easy terms extending over long periods. Unfortunately, when the Home Rule bill was taken up, a number of other measures had to wait, notably the measure known as the Mental Deficiency bill. This was a non-partisan measure which had the support of many distinguished and social reformers. England is not well provided with arrangements for the care of defectives, and this delay or neglect, to quote

the words of the appeal, is making it likely that

the rising generation, which tends to become inebriates, prostitutes, criminals, and paupers, will leave behind it a new generation of mentally and physically degenerate children not only continuing, but increasing the numbers that must be supported at the expense of the community.

*Awarding  
the  
Nobel Prizes*      The Nobel prizes were presented by the King of Sweden, at Stockholm on December 10. Dr.

Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, of New York, received the prize for medicine. In this magazine for November we gave Dr. Carrel's portrait as a frontispiece, and recounted the significant events of his useful career. The prize for physics was awarded to Gustav Dalen, of Stockholm, that for chemistry was divided between two French savants, Professor Grignard, of Nancy University, and Professor Paul Sabatier, of Toulouse University. The prize for literature was awarded to the German poet, dramatist, and novelist Gerhart Hauptmann. On another page this month our readers will find a summary of the main facts of Hauptmann's life, and an estimate of his artistic and literary eminence. For the first time since the prize was established, no award was made for service in the cause of international peace, because the committee was unable to discover a person who "within a year has worked most or best for the fraternization of nations, the abolition or reduction of standing armies, or the calling or propagating of peace congresses."

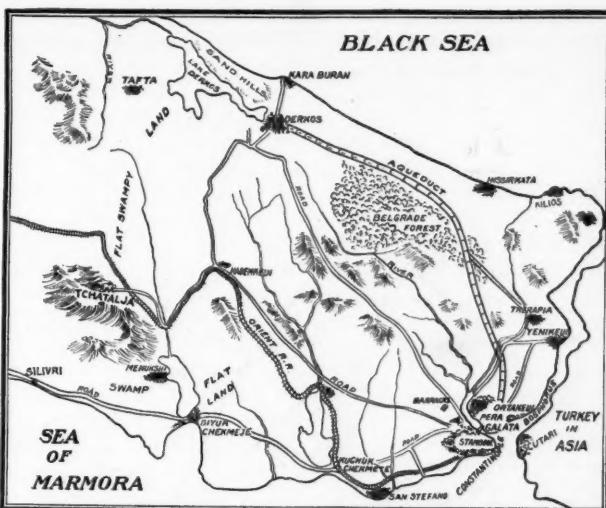
*The  
Scandinavian  
Art Exhibit*      The two best known winners of this peace prize are, of course, ex-President Roosevelt and Baroness Bertha von Suttner. This eminent Austrian lady, reformer and author, visited the United States last month and made addresses in the interest of the peace movement and the cause of votes for women. The founder of the Nobel prizes was a Swede, but the prize foundation itself was an international matter.

We do not think of it as Swedish only. The Scandinavian spirit, however, was brought impressively to the attention of art lovers in the East, last month, by the itinerant exhibition of Scandinavian art, which was held in New York up to Christmas Day, and then took its journey to other eastern cities. Most of the modern Swedish, Norwegian and Danish artists are represented, and from the canvases of Zorn, Munch, and Johansen there exhales the real Scandinavian spirit. The lesson of this exhibition, made possible by

the endowment of the American-Scandinavian foundation in New York City, is that the northern nations of Europe (we quote the opinion of Henry Reuterdahl, in an article in the *Craftsman*) "not only materially support their artists, but look upon them as national assets, figures of importance in their spiritual development."

*The Fourth Russian Duma* assembled on November 28,

the *Ryetch* (St. Petersburg), the membership (442) is divided: Extreme Right Nationalist, 180; Octobrists, 91; Mussulman and Polish factions, 23; Progressists, 45; Constitutional Democrats, 65; Extreme Left, 32; and Non-partisan, 6. With the Right side abnormally developed and having no strong Center, the new Duma seems to be doomed to failure. The radical Russian press takes a very pessimistic view of the situation and all agree that no serious work can be expected from it. Mr. A. E. Shingarev, a prominent leader of the Constitutional Democrats, recently elected a deputy, characterizes it "as a bird with wings but without a head and body. It evidently will not be able to fly and the question is if it will have enough strength to crawl. . . ." A hopeful sign of its ability to "crawl" is the election of M. Rodzianko, an Octobrist member, as President. The Russian government, seemingly satisfied with its activities in the recent elections, is very busy introducing in the new Duma a great variety of legislative projects, among which we may mention, as of special interest to our readers, a new commercial treaty with the United States, which expires by denunciation of our government on the first day of the present month. It may be safe to say, however, that in view of the strong Nationalist element in this Duma the passport question is not likely to receive a satisfactory solution. Nor is it expected that the grave internal problems which confront present day Russia will be more efficiently dealt with. Of Russian foreign politics we speak elsewhere.



## CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS VICINITY

(The scene of the last operations of the Balkan War)

*Making Peace  
in the  
Balkans*

*Making Peace  
in the  
Balkans*

When the peace conference to settle the Balkan war began its deliberations in London, on December 16, the question of absorbing interest, not only to the delegates, but to the world at large, was not the terms which would be agreed upon between the victorious allies and their beaten adversary, but to what extent the great powers of Europe would insist upon modifying these terms. Added to this was the harrowing uncertainty as to whether these great powers would be able to hold themselves back from the brink of war. An agreement between Turkey and her conquerors was the least difficult. In fact, it had become quite evident, after the amicable break-up of the conference at Tchatalja battle lines, on December 3, that the Turks and their adversaries would not find much difficulty in coming to an agreement if Europe would permit them. It was even openly stated that after the peace terms had been agreed upon, treaties of friendship and commerce would be immediately negotiated and that Turkey would, later, enter the Balkan confederation.

*Concluding  
the  
Armistice* After some parley between the Bulgarian and Turkish delegates at the little village of Bagtche, near Hademkeui, on the Orient railroad, the delegates of Bulgaria and Turkey, meeting on December 3, at the suggestion of the Turkish government, signed an armistice, which provided (1) for the suspension of hostilities until peace negotiations were concluded:

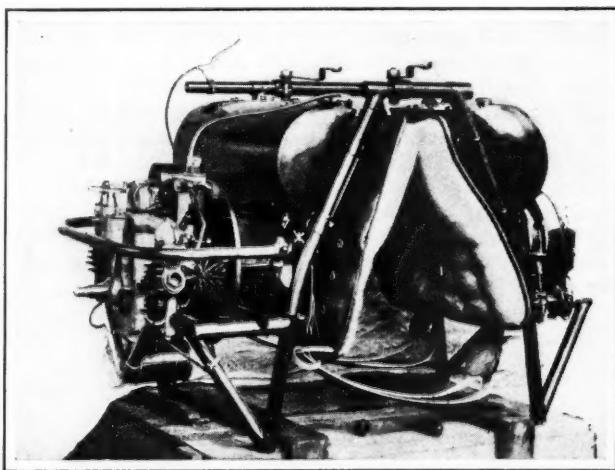
(2) for the right to revictual Adrianople, Scutari, Janina and the Turkish detachments cut off by the allies, as well as the Bulgarian battle lines at Tchatalja; (3) the removal of the blockade of the Dardanelles and the Adriatic and Egean seas. During the fortnight preceding, the allied advance had continued with scarcely any interruption. Scutari, however, continued to hold out against the efforts of the Montenegrins to take it and Adrianople maintained a heroic resistance to the Bulgarians. On November 18, Monastir, one of the chief cities of Macedonia, surrendered to the Servians after two days of hard fighting with heavy losses on both sides. Servian armies also proceeded westward, and on November 28, entered Durazzo, the port on the Adriatic which for many years has been the aim of Servian ambition. The Greeks and Bulgarians obtained other minor successes, and by November 28, the last Turkish force of any considerable size in Thrace and Macedonia had surrendered to the Bulgarians and Servians.

*Ravages  
of the  
Cholera* The Bulgarian attack halted at the Tchatalja line of fortifications, constructed in 1877 for the purpose of protecting Constantinople against the Russians. It was reported more than once that the Turks had checked the Bulgarians by force of arms, but these reports were denied from Sofia, as well as were the persistent rumors that the fear of the cholera had halted the armies of King Ferdinand.

The pest wrought great havoc among the Turks, and eye witnesses of the scenes around the Turkish intrenchments described the suffering and death as horrible in the extreme. For miles in the rear of the Turkish lines the country was dotted with cholera camps and a large force of Red Cross and Red Crescent (the Turkish society) nurses was endeavoring to alleviate the sufferings of the victims. Stern sanitary measures were taken by both Turkish and Bulgarian commanders, and it was believed that when the heavier frosts of early December arrived that the plague had been checked.

*Greece's  
Independent  
Action* As soon as the armistice had been signed, delegates were appointed to the peace conference, to assemble in London on December 13. The Greek delegates did not sign the armistice, Greece reserving to herself the right to prosecute the war in the meantime. The motives of the Athens government in not giving in its adhesion to the armistice are obscure, but, according to printed interviews with Bulgarian and Servian public men, it later became evident that this action was taken with the knowledge and approval of the other allies.

One reason given was that the Hellenic fleet might be left free to continue the blockade of the Dardanelles and the Egean coast to prevent the Ottoman government from replenishing its supplies for the army by sea. Several naval engagements between Greek and Turkish vessels took place after the conference had begun its deliberations. The Greek warships had taken a number of islands in the Egean, including the famous Chios. It may be that Greece desired to regain most of her ancient province of Epirus before the signing of the peace treaty, so that she might claim it at once, or that she might actually occupy most of the Egean islands. A difficulty presented itself at this point. A number of these islands are still held by Italy. The Treaty of Lausanne, which ended the Turco-Italian war (signed at Ouchy, in Switzerland, on October 18, and ratified by the Italian Parliament on December 4), provided that these Egean



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York.

#### WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY IN THE BALKAN WAR

(Wireless telegraphy has been an important factor in the Balkan War. The allies used it more extensively than the Turks and they inaugurated several ingenious methods of transporting their stations from place to place. One of them was rigged up on a saddle so that it could be carried by horse or mule)



Photograph by Underwood &amp; Underwood, New York

**THE VICTORIOUS BULGARIAN KING, FERDINAND, GOING TO THE FRONT IN HIS MOTOR CAR AT THE BATTLE OF LULE BURGAS**

islands should be given back to Turkey only on condition of "guarantees for the proper protection of inhabitants." Since Turkey could not give these guarantees, Italy still occupies the islands and Greece may not capture them. But the Greek navy desired to hold physical possession of as many islands as possible, on the assumption that possession is at least nine points of the law.

*Problems  
Before the  
Conference*

It was seen that when the conference assembled at St. James Palace, London, with Sir Edward

Grey, British Foreign Minister, as official host for Great Britain and one of the chief movers in bringing about the agreement of the powers, there would be three problems to solve. In their order, these would be (1) the settlement of terms between Turkey and the allies; (2) an absolute agreement between the allies themselves—it having been reported that disagreements had arisen between them; and (3) the extent to which the great powers would revise the resulting treaty in their own interests. The delegates from Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece, insisted that the minimum terms demanded from

Turkey would be the cession of all the territory captured by the allied troops, the capitulation of Adrianople, Scutari, Janina and the Tchatalja forts. When the London conference was agreed upon, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria is reported to have remarked, that it was more important for the allies to appoint their best men as delegates than it had been to get their best generals for the fighting—"because incompetent delegates might lose over the council table what our brave generals and soldiers have won on the battlefield."

*Will Austria  
and Russia  
Fight?*

Austro-Russian relations were the storm center in the complicated European situation which last month hung over the peace conference in London like a menacing cloud. We have already set forth in these pages the genesis and complexity of the Austrian-Servian difficulty. Servia, a land-locked country, has always claimed that she must have a port. Austria and Italy, insisting that the Adriatic Sea is their special sphere of influence, deny the right of Servia to hold Durazzo, on the Albanian coast, which is the particular port she craves. The only other port which may

be used by Servia as an outlet for her commerce and expansion is Salonica on the Egean. This has also been for years marked as on the line of Austrian expansion to the southeast. Servia, moreover, is looked upon in Vienna as merely the advance guard of Russia, and it is openly insisted by Austrian statesmen that an Adriatic or Egean port under Servian control would mean practically the advent of the Russian bear upon these seas. For half a century Germany and Austria have looked to the Near East as the direction in which their commercial, as well as their political advance must take its course. The menace that a united Balkan confederation would oppose to this expansion ideal is shown graphically in the map which we reproduce here.

*War Preparations*

Last month Austria mobilized troops throughout the entire extent of her polyglot domain.

Russia, for her part, concentrated upwards of half a million men in her Polish provinces on her German and Austrian frontier. One feature of Austria's war preparations particularly interesting to Americans was the floating of a loan for \$25,000,000 in the United States. This is the first time that the Viennese government has borrowed money

on the American market. This mobilization on the eve of the conference was resented in Paris and St. Petersburg, as a threat to the peace of the continent. Germany's open support of Austria increased the gravity of the situation. Three noteworthy declarations of policy, made during November and early December, served to clear the European atmosphere somewhat. On November 9 the British Premier, Mr. Asquith, announced publicly that "British opinion is unanimous on the point that the victors are not to be robbed of the fruits which cost them so dear."

*Germany Supports Austria*

The visit of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Austrian throne, to Berlin

late in November was followed by a statement from the German Chancellor, who declared that Germany would support Austria in her legitimate demands upon Servia. The Chancellor said:

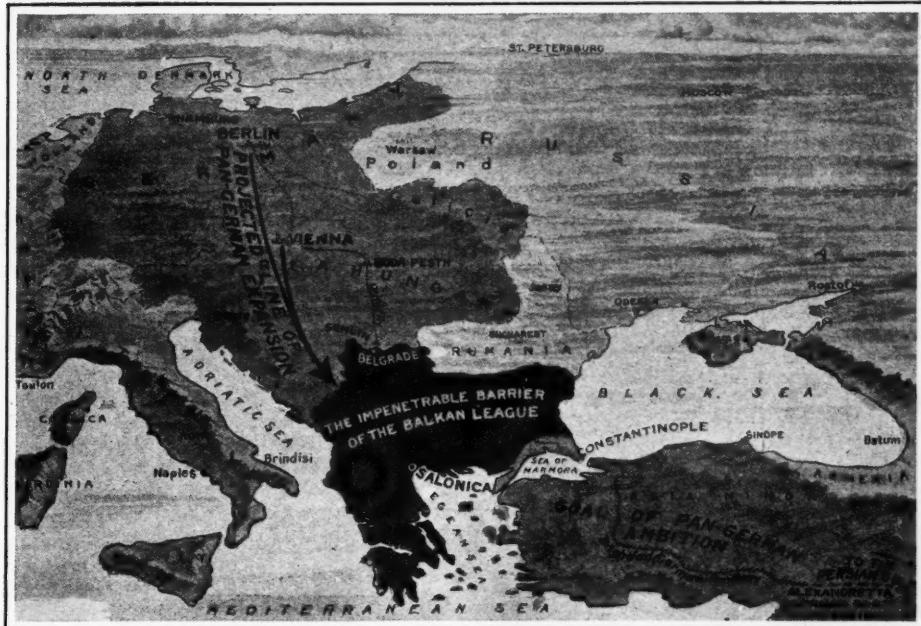
When our allies, Austria, Hungary and Italy, in maintaining their interests, are attacked by a third party and thereby threatened in their interests, we, faithful to our compacts, will take their part firmly and decisively.

This was followed, on December 6, by a speech by Premier Poincaré, of France, in the French Chamber of Deputies, in which he



WOMEN OF THE TURKISH RED CRESCENT SOCIETY PREPARING BANDAGES FOR SOLDIERS

(On this occasion these women, for the first time, have taken off their veils)



WHY GERMANY AND AUSTRIA OPPOSE THE BALKAN CONFEDERATION: IT WILL CHECK THEIR EXPANSION IN THE ORIENT

said: "We stand by our allies and our friendships." These declarations of loyalty to the constitution was proclaimed by the Young political friendships, which caused a good deal of discussion in the press, were of course to be expected. Nevertheless they had the effect of clearing the atmosphere, and undoubtedly of conducting towards the preservation of that important but curious doctrine, the balance of European power.

*The  
Albanian  
Problem*

The chief Austrian contention, after her refusal to permit Servia to have an Adriatic port, is for the autonomy of Albania. In this she is supported by Italy, and, it is generally believed, by Russia and some of the other great powers. The Albanian question is a thorny one. This distinct, vigorous, and unmanageable people have been for some time the largest national element in European Turkey. Albania has furnished many Turkish statesmen of eminence. Albanians were at the head of the army that deposed Abdul Hamid, both because the Albanians were modern and progressive in their spirit and also because the despotism of Abdul Hamid had imposed oppressive regulations upon them. When the Albanians were forbidden to read or write in their native tongue, they began to form political organizations in Rumania, Bulgaria,

France and the United States. Soon after the new régime began to break its promises to the Albanians and a punitive expedition was sent against the Malissori, a vigorous Albanian mountaineer tribe. This Malissori movement, which finally grew to such proportions that it presented to the allies opportunity to begin the war just closed.

*Who the  
Albanians  
Are*

The Albanians, originally Christians, were conquered by the Moslems in the eleventh century, but did not wholly embrace the Moslem faith. There are about 3,000,000 of them almost ready to return to Christianity, if they can get from under the yoke of their Turkish oppressors. By granting certain demands of the Albanian Nationalist Committee in 1911 the government of the Porte made a national existence for the Albanians a possibility, and now Europe has hit upon the scheme of setting up an autonomous Albania as a curb to Servian and Greek ambitions. It was reported last month that, at the meeting of the oldest and largest of the Albanian clubs held in Bucharest, Ismail Kemal, an Albanian Moslem, had been chosen as provisional head of the new Albanian nation. Ismail Kemal, who was President of the Council of



ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND, HEIR TO THE AUSTRIAN THRONE, AND HIS FAMILY

State under Sultan Abdul Hamid, is a liberal statesman with a wide European education. We hope, next month, to give our readers more detailed information about this little and obscure but interesting European people, who have suffered so much from Turkey.

*The European Money Power and Peace* On the eve of the peace conference in London, it seemed that what the French call *la haute finance* dominated the general European situation. The great banking groups in England and on the continent were saying the word as to war and peace. The *Investor's Review*, a financial paper of London, which often seems to speak with inside knowledge of what is going on, in a recent issue hints at the practical extinction of Turkish rule in what is now known as the Ottoman Empire. Dealing with the problem of what is to be done with the territories liberated from the grasp of the Turk, it says:

There is also the question—what is to be done with the Turk himself? Probably, as we have said before, some strips of territory will be nominally left to him in Europe to "save his face" but the real government, not only of European Turkey but of Asiatic as well must now pass into other

hands. The remains of the Turkish Empire will have to be governed by an international commission henceforth in order to give its suffering victims a chance to straighten themselves up and become men even as the Bulgarians, Greeks and Servians have done.

*Can Austria Make War?* The influences that are working to bring about this revolutionary change from Turkish to international rule in the Ottoman Empire are the financial; and in treating of this phase of the crisis the *Investor's Review* foreshadows the eventual break up of the Empire of the Hapsburgs if the Austrian Government forces a conflict with Servia. This it sees in the inevitable crash in the stock markets of Europe if a general war should break out. It says:

Already the tension in Vienna is extreme and in Budapest it is at the agony point. Hungarian provincial banks, we are told, are unable to obtain money at less than 8 per cent., and as 8 per cent is the legal maximum they are permitted to charge for loans granted by them, their business has reached a deadlock. Money is just as dear in Vienna, and in some of the outlying non-Teutonic provinces of the empire runs protracted by mobilization or rumors of such, have begun upon the savings banks. These runs have but to combine and spread to the great Austrian savings bank itself and the government of the Hapsburgs will be reduced to a state of paralysis. One of these days unless it alters its attitude towards its weaker neighbors it too will die. Austrian statesmen seem as unteachable at times as the Turk. No state, however, is in a position to make war now. That is the merciful fact. The suspense of the intermediate period has already cost such enormous sums of money that *la haute finance* itself has become paralyzed or is locking up its means until better times come.

*Has Europe Become Paralyzed?* The *Review* then goes on to quote M. Edmond Thery, the eminent French economist who has been pointing out that the depreciation of securities upon the European stock markets has already reached between £1,200,000,000 and £1,400,000,000 since Montenegro declared war against Turkey. What the depreciation would be were a great war to break out the imagination cannot reckon. M. Thery says Europe holds £30,000,000,000 of marketable securities and between £2,000,000,000 and £2,500,000,000 of bank notes, cheques and commercial bills in circulation. Against all this Europe together holds only between £1,400,000,000 and £1,600,000,000 in cash, of which a good third is locked up in state treasuries or in the vaults of the note issuing banks. This abnormal condition of things is being availed of by the controllers of the world's cash to dictate terms to the governments believed to

be opposed to the policy of Turkish dismemberment or internationalization, and French financiers who are supporting that policy refuse to loan either to Germany or Austria. German borrowers have offered 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent in Paris for money without being able to find it, and Vienna has offered almost any rate lenders chose to ask in order to obtain the help without which a catastrophic crisis may soon devastate the Hapsburg Empire. On December 9 it was announced that the Austrian government had succeeded in placing a loan for \$25,000,000 in New York. The power of finance and the force of events are holding governments as in a vise, and what the end of it will be cannot be foreseen, although the floating of the loan in this country is held by American bankers to be an indication that the word is peace. The resignations of the Austrian Minister of War, General von Auffenberg, and of the Chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, Field Marshal Schemua, seem to imply that there is a serious military crisis in Austria-Hungary; and Dr. Schiemann, in his weekly review of the week's foreign politics in the Berlin *Kreuz Zeitung*, has asked what is the meaning of the Russian concentrations on the Austro-Hungarian frontier, and the rush of Galician landowners to increase their insurance with London companies. Taking things altogether, the clouds overhanging Europe do not show very many signs of dispersing with the New Year.

*Egypt to be  
a British  
Protectorate*

The uneasiness of the Mohammedans in Egypt following the proclamation from Constantinople, in November, of a Holy War against Christians, has impelled the British government to announce the early promulgation of a constitution for Egypt. This idea had been projected for some time, in fact, ever since, under the consulship of Lord Cromer, the growth of the Nationalist movement had attained serious proportions. According to reports from Cairo, the chamber provided for under the constitution will consist of 77 members, 35 to be nominated by the government, and 42 elected by the indirect method already employed in choosing members of the present legislative council. The power of the chamber will be restricted and will fall far short of responsible government. They will permit the chamber to decide unimportant matters of education and agriculture. Theoretically Egypt has a wide suffrage based on a small property qualification, but for all election purposes the complex indirect elec-

tion system prevails. Early in December the governing committee of the Egyptian Nationalist party met in Cairo to elect a successor as leader to Mohammed Farid Bey, who was compelled to resign some time ago, owing to "pernicious activity" in the war between Turkey and Italy. Its choice fell on another Nationalist, although one of less open anti-English sentiments. Last month the London journals hinted at the proclamation in the near future of a British protectorate over Egypt.

*Russia  
Aggressive  
In Mongolia*

At the time when the attention of the whole world was being concentrated on the drama then enacted in the Balkans, Russia, true to her traditional policy, was taking advantage of the situation to further her own ends in the Far East. The Russo-Mongolian treaty recently concluded, by which Russia has practically guaranteed the independence of Mongolia from China is a move of far-reaching consequence. The underlying principle of this move is: *divida et impera*. One has only to examine the articles of the agreement to see what it will ultimately lead to. According to the *Ryetch*, the well informed journal of St. Petersburg, Russia, by the terms of the treaty, promises the Mongols "her assistance in preserving their established



THE COLOSSUS OF THE DARDANELLES  
What? Is he still on the European shore?  
From the *Novoye Vremya* (St. Petersburg)

autonomy, i. e., in supporting their rights to disallow Chinese administration on their territory, in maintaining their own national troops in barring the admission of Chinese troops, and in disallowing colonization of Mongolian lands by China." The Mongolian government, on the other hand, pledges itself "not to conclude any treaties conflicting with these principles and to grant Russian subjects in Mongolia rights they previously enjoyed." Commenting upon the hostile attitude the Chinese government has shown toward the mission of Mr. Korostovetz, the Russian envoy in Urga, the *Ryetch* significantly remarks: "Nevertheless, it will have to reckon with the existing state of affairs, to change which is no longer within the power of China." The spectacle of Russia upholding Mongolian autonomy—by force, if necessary—is truly inspiring!

*Russifying  
the  
Firms*

But those who know the fate of Finland will not mistake the intentions of Russia. Finland has enjoyed the autonomy guaranteed to her by Alexander I for over a hundred years and now the Russian government urged by the Nationalist press, particularly the *Novoye Vremya*, has declared Finland's constitution null and void, and is introducing there the general laws of the empire. The Finnish authorities, those who have not sold their birthright, have adopted a policy of passive resistance, the only thing left for them to do under the circumstances, and one courageously and persistently opposing Russian encroachment. The Russian government responds by putting Finnish officials in St. Petersburg prisons, and trying them as political offenders. Europe, to whom Finland is vainly looking for support, is too busy with selfish interests to heed the supplications of the heroic nation which is being strangled by the Russian bear.

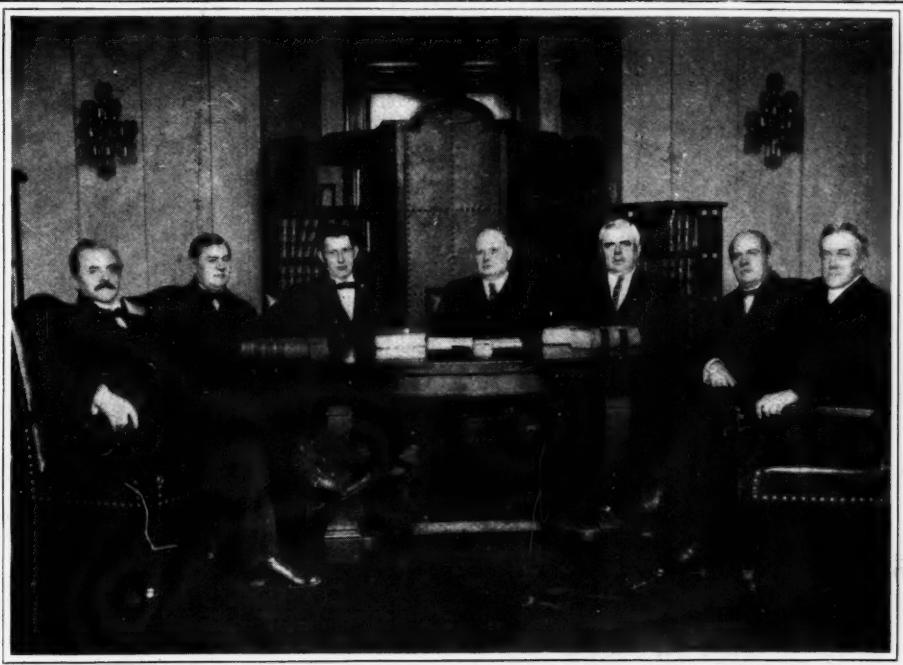
*Chinese  
Elections This  
Month*

Recently a bill was passed by the Chinese National Council and promulgated by President Yuan Shih-Kai for the organization in permanent form of a constitutional government to take the place of the present provisional government. In accordance with its provisions, general elections are now being held in all the provinces to choose representatives to form the national legislature, to be known as the "Yi-Yuan" or National Assembly. The Assembly is bicameral in form. The upper house

is called the "Tsan-Yi-Yuan" and the lower house "Chung-Yi-Yuan." Each of the provinces is represented by 10 members in the "Tsan-Yi-Yuan," indirectly chosen by the provincial assembly. Mongolia is given 27 representatives in the upper house, elected by its special electoral college. Likewise, Tibet has 10 and Chinghai (Kokonor) has three. A unique feature is the representation of 8 members accorded to the Central Educational Society (similar to University representation in British Parliament), and of 6 members to the Chinese residents abroad. There are nearly four hundred members in the Tsan-Yi-Yuan. They serve for the term of 6 years, one third to retire every two years.

*For a  
Permanent  
Republican  
Government*

Representatives in the lower house, or Chung-Yi-Yuan, are apportioned among the provinces and territories according to population. The unit of representation is one representative for every 800,000 inhabitants. But if a province has less than 8,000,000 inhabitants, it shall nevertheless be entitled to 10 representatives. Accordingly, the metropolitan province of Chili (the largest) is represented by 46 members, while the recently created province of Hsinchiang has only 10 members. The Chung-Yi-Yuan has a membership of nearly six hundred, and the term of service is three years. Suffrage is granted to (1) those who pay a direct tax of \$2 or more, (2) those who are owners individually of immovable property to the value of \$500 or more, (3) those who are graduates from institutions of learning of certain grade, and (4) those who possess educational qualifications equivalent to those possessed by graduates from institutions of learning of certain grade. According to a recent report, there are approximately 30,000,000 persons of voting age, but so far only about 2,000,000 have been qualified to vote at the first national election. The newly elected representatives are called to assemble at Peking during the present month to adopt a permanent constitution and to organize a government under it. A committee consisting of an equal number of members elected from amongst the members of each house will be assigned the task of drafting the constitution, which will be adopted by both houses in joint session. It has been intimated by Secretary Knox, in a recent letter to a Pacific Coast Chamber of Commerce, that the Chinese Republic will be formally recognized by the United States after the January elections.



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

#### "HOUSE MANAGERS" OF THE ARCHBALD IMPEACHMENT CASE

(They are members of the House Judiciary Committee and are prosecuting the impeachment case before the United States Senate. Left to right: Representatives George W. Norris of Nebraska; Paul Howland of Ohio; Edwin Y. Webb of North Carolina; Henry D. Clayton [Chairman] of Alabama; John C. Floyd of Arkansas; John A. Sterling of Illinois; and John W. Davis of West Virginia)

## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 17 to December 16, 1912)

### PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 2.—The Sixty-second Congress assembles for the short session.

December 3.—The first portion of the President's annual message, dealing with our foreign relations, is received and read in both branches. . . . The Senate sits as a court of impeachment to try Judge Robert W. Archbald, of the Commerce Court, and hears the opening statements on both sides.

December 4.—In the Senate, the hearing of evidence is begun in the impeachment proceedings against Judge Archbald. . . . The House passes a measure granting pensions to widows and children of veterans of the wars with Spain and in the Philippines.

December 5.—The House passes the Adamson bill authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a physical valuation of railroad property.

December 6.—The second portion of the President's annual message—dealing with fiscal, judicial, military, and insular affairs—is received and read in both branches.

December 9.—The House passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill, (\$34,900,583).

December 12.—In the House, the seat occupied by Charles C. Bowman (Rep., Pa.) is declared vacant because of methods employed in his election.

December 14.—The House discusses the literacy-test immigration bill prepared by Mr. Burnett (Dem., Ala.).

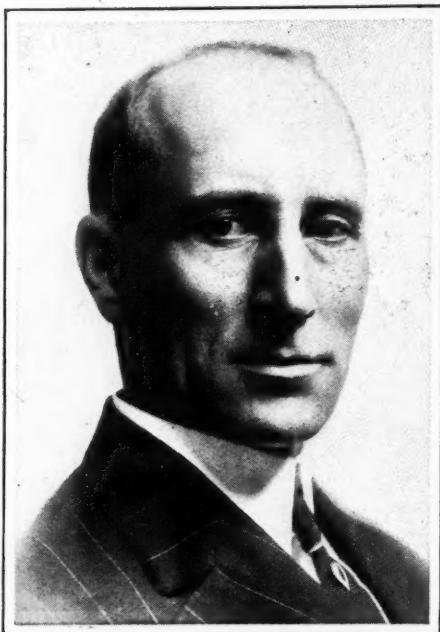
December 16.—In the Senate, the lawyers for Judge Archbald in the impeachment proceedings begin the presentation of their defense.

### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

November 18.—The United States Supreme Court, ordering the dissolution of the so-called Bathtub Trust, holds that "license agreements" are illegal and that there can be no monopoly in the unpatented product of a patented machine.

November 20.—Simultaneous raids by post-office inspectors in twenty-two States result in more than a hundred arrests for the sale of illegal medicines and medical devices. . . . Carmi Thompson is appointed Treasurer of the United States.

November 29.—William Purnell Jackson (Rep.) is appointed United States Senator from Maryland, succeeding the late Isidor Rayner. . . . Charles H. Hyde, formerly City Chamberlain, is found guilty of bribery in the manipulation of New York City funds on deposit.



GOVERNOR-ELECT GEORGE H. HODGES, OF KANSAS

(For several weeks after the election it had seemed that Arthur Capper, Republican, was chosen Governor of Kansas. The official returns, however, gave the election to Mr. Hodges, the Democratic candidate)

November 30.—The official returns of the vote for Governor in Kansas show that George H. Hodges (Dem.) defeated Arthur Capper (Rep.).

December 2.—The United States Supreme Court orders the dissolution of the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroad systems, under the Sherman Anti-Trust law.

December 3.—Twenty-seven State executives attend the opening session of the fifth annual Conference of Governors, at Richmond, Va. . . . A federal grand jury at New York begins an inquiry into the alleged agreement between the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad and the Grand Trunk Railway, by which competition was avoided.

December 5.—The Secretary of the Navy, in his annual report to Congress, asks for the authorization of three first-class battleships.

December 6.—The annual report of the Secretary of Agriculture states that the value of farm products reached a figure half a million dollars greater than that of any preceding year. . . . Theodore Douglas Robinson is elected chairman of the New York State Progressive Committee.

December 7.—A committee of nine Governors is selected at the closing session of the Governors' Conference, to inquire into land credit systems. . . . Twenty thousand skilled laborers in the United States navy yards are placed in the civil service.

December 9.—The House committee investigating the alleged Money Trust resumes its hearings at Washington and examines prominent Eastern bankers.

December 10.—A national conference of leaders of the Progressive party, held at Chicago, is attended by more than a thousand persons and is addressed by ex-President Roosevelt.

December 14.—A suit to dissolve the so-called Butter Trust is begun by the Government in the District Court at Chicago.

December 16.—Governor Donaghey of Arkansas, as a protest against the convict-lease system, pardons 360 prisoners. . . . The Supreme Court holds that the Government has failed to prove the existence of a combination of the coal-carrying roads of the East, but orders the cancellation of the so-called 65 per cent. contracts with independent dealers.

#### POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

November 21.—The second session of the twelfth Canadian Parliament is opened by the Duke of Connaught.

November 28.—The fourth Russian Duma assembles at St. Petersburg.

December 2.—Archbishop Adolfo Alejandro Nouel is elected Provisional President of Santo Domingo for a period of two years. . . . Lieutenant-General Uyehara tenders his resignation as Japanese Minister of War, because of the refusal of the Government to increase the army.

December 4.—The Italian Parliament ratifies the treaty of peace with Turkey. . . . Premier Saionji and the other members of the Japanese cabinet resign.

December 5.—The Canadian Prime Minister introduces in the House of Commons a bill appropriating \$35,000,000 for the construction of three powerful battleships, as Canada's gift for the empire's defense (see page 63).

December 6.—Lieutenant-General Count Terauchi is appointed Premier of Japan.

December 7.—A bill is introduced in the German Reichstag creating a private monopoly in petroleum, under Government control.

December 9.—The Austrian Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff resign their offices.

December 12.—Edouard Muller is elected President of the Swiss Confederation.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 22.—It is reported from Vienna that large bodies of Austrian troops are massed on the Servian border, because of threatened complications over the war with Turkey. . . . Theodore Marburg is named as American minister to Belgium.

November 23.—The retirement of Manuel Calero, Mexican ambassador to the United States, is announced at Washington.

December 2.—The German Chancellor, speaking in the Reichstag and referring to the Balkan controversy, declares that Germany would assist Austria-Hungary and Italy if those countries were attacked by a third party.

December 6.—Austria and Italy protest to Greece against the bombardment of Avlona, the capital of Albania (Turkey).

December 7.—It is officially announced at Berlin that the Triple Alliance between Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy has been renewed.

December 9.—Great Britain formally demands that the United States either repeal the measure granting free passage to American ships through the Panama Canal or submit the matter to arbitration.

#### THE WAR IN THE BALKANS

November 18.—More than 1,000 cases of cholera are reported daily in and around Constantinople, half of them fatal. . . . Monastir, the remaining Turkish stronghold in Macedonia, is surrendered to the Servian troops after three days' desperate fighting, in which 20,000 Turkish soldiers are killed or wounded.

November 21.—Turkey rejects the terms offered by the allies for the arrangement of an armistice.

November 28.—The Servian army occupies the port of Durazzo, Albania.

November 29.—It is stated at Sofia that Servian troops recently captured 9,000 Turkish soldiers, including two generals, south of Adrianople.

November 30.—The Turkish cabinet approves the protocol of an armistice. . . . Servian troops enter the town of Durazzo and haul down the Albanian flag.

December 3.—A fourteen-days armistice is signed at Baghchetch by representatives of Turkey and Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro; Greece refuses to sign the agreement; peace negotiations are to begin at London on December 16.

December 5.—It is officially announced at Athens that representatives of Greece will participate in the peace conference at London. . . . Two Greek gunboats bombard Avlona, Albania.

December 16.—The plenipotentiaries of Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, Greece, and Turkey meet in St. James' Palace, London, to arrange terms of peace. . . . It is reported at Constantinople that the Turkish fleet was victorious in an engagement with Greek vessels near the Dardanelles, during which several ships were sunk.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 18-20.—The western end of the island of Jamaica is devastated by a hurricane and tidal wave; more than 100 persons lose their lives.

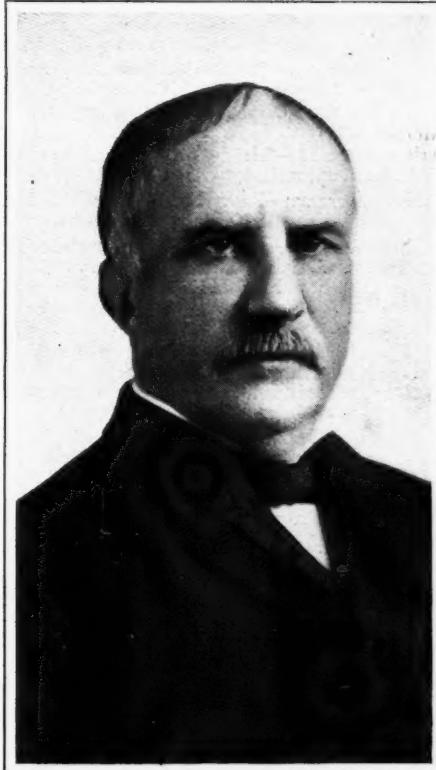
November 20.—A boiler explosion on the Japanese cruiser *Nisshin* kills twenty members of the crew.

November 21.—The fourth convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association is opened at Philadelphia. . . . Andrew Carnegie, through the Carnegie Corporation, offers an annual pension of \$25,000 for future ex-Presidents and their widows.

November 22.—John Schrank, who attempted to assassinate ex-President Roosevelt, is pronounced insane at Milwaukee and committed to an asylum.

November 23.—Samuel Gompers is reelected president of the American Federation of Labor at the closing session of the annual convention in Rochester.

November 24.—The award of the Board of Arbitration in the dispute between the Eastern railroads and the locomotive engineers is made public; State and federal wage commissions are recommended, a standard minimum wage is adopted, and general wage increases are granted. . . . The International Socialist Congress meets at Basel, Switzerland.



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THE LATE SENATOR ISIDOR RAYNER, OF MARYLAND

November 25.—Representatives from many States meet at New York City, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, to discuss the securing of uniform State legislation in the field of workmen's compensation and employers' liability.

November 26.—Joseph J. Ettor, Arturo Giovannitti and Joseph Caruso are acquitted of charges of murder in connection with the death of a woman in a riot during the textile strike at Lawrence, Mass.

November 30.—The British lawn-tennis team defeats the Australian defenders in the final match for the Davis Cup, at Melbourne.

December 3.—Eleven persons are killed in a rear-end collision of passenger trains near Dresden, Ohio.

December 4.—The opening session of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, at Washington, is addressed by President Taft.

December 10.—Ten thousand railway employees in northern England are on strike because of the disciplining of an engineer charged with intoxication.

December 11.—A new altitude record for aeroplanes (19,000 feet) is created by Roland G. Garros, at Tunis.

December 14.—The English railway strike comes to an end.

## OBITUARY

November 16.—Dr. Isaac Norton Rendall, president of Lincoln University (Pennsylvania), 87.

November 17.—Joseph M. Terrell, formerly Governor of Georgia and United States Senator, 52. . . . George Ober, a well-known producer of open-air plays, 63.

November 18.—Major-Gen. Henry Clay Merriam, U. S. A., retired, 75.

November 20.—Rev. Dr. George Augustus Gates, president of Fisk University, Nashville, 61.

November 23.—Herman S. Hoffman, Bishop of the Reformed Episcopal Church, 71. . . . Charles Bourseul, believed to be the inventor of the telephone, 82. . . . Sir Edward Seaborne Clouston, a prominent Canadian banker, 63.

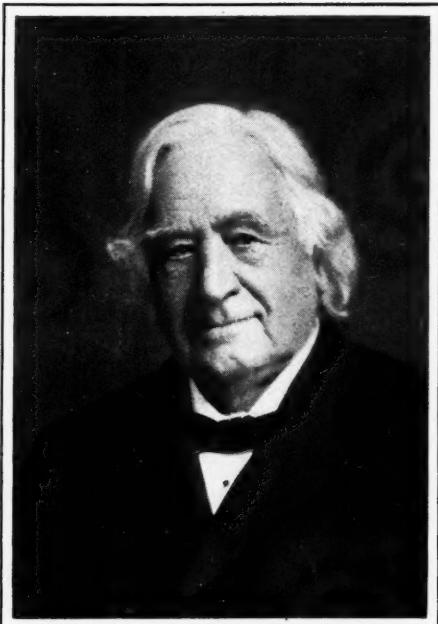
November 24.—William Luke, a prominent paper manufacturer, 83. . . . Dr. Markar Dadirrian, manufacturer of a well-known summer beverage, 72.

November 25.—Isidor Rayner, United States Senator from Maryland, 62. . . . Dr. James Woods McLane, a prominent New York physician and writer on medical topics, 74. . . . Frank Hall Scott, president of the Century Company, publishers, 64. . . . William Flavelle Monypenny, director of the London *Times*, 46. . . . Sir Horace Edward Moss, a pioneer English music-hall manager, 60.

November 26.—Princess Marie, mother of King Albert of Belgium, 67. . . . Robert Knight, the largest owner of cotton mills in the world, 86.

November 27.—John Percival Jones, formerly and for thirty years a United States Senator from Nevada, 84. . . . Prof. Daniel Bonbright, formerly acting president of Northwestern University, 81.

November 28.—Col. James Gordon, of Mississippi, recently United States Senator for a short



THE LATE DR. ROBERT COLLYER, OF NEW YORK

period, 79. . . . Col. Daniel Moore Ransdell, sergeant-at-arms of the United States Senate, 70. . . . Dr. Edward Curtis, of New York, noted for his development of the art of microphotography, 74. . . . Dr. Elizabeth C. Keller, of Boston, a pioneer woman surgeon, 75. . . . Dr. John D. McGill, a distinguished New Jersey surgeon, 66.

November 29.—Dr. William Waugh Smith, president of Randolph Macon Colleges and Academies (Virginia).

November 30.—Rev. Dr. Robert Collyer, the noted Unitarian clergyman, 84.

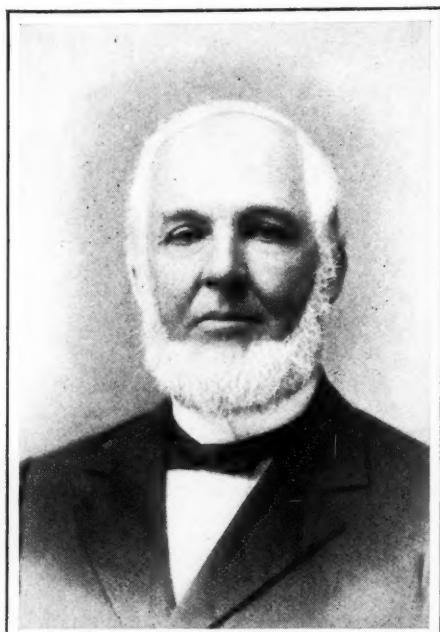
December 1.—Col. Silas Wright Burt, a prominent advocate of civil-service reform, 82.

December 2.—Albert Keith Smiley, founder of the Lake Mohonk Conferences, 84. . . . Dr. Adam H. Fetterolf, president of Girard College for twenty-eight years, 71. . . . Prof. Eben Jenks Loomis, astronomer and naturalist, 84. . . . Edwin Smith, inventor of astronomical methods and instruments, 60. . . . Prof. Otis Bardwell Boise, of the Peabody Conservatory of Music, Baltimore, 68.

December 3.—Prof. William Armstrong Buckhout, of Pennsylvania State College, 66. . . . George Albert Kimball, chief engineer of the Boston Elevated Railway Company, 63. . . . Dr. Alice Bunker Stockham, physician and author, 79. . . . Rev. Joshua Kimber, one of the secretaries of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 77.

December 4.—Col. Archibald Gracie, U. S. A., retired, 54. . . . Gen. Julius Stahel, veteran of the Civil War, 87.

December 5.—Dr. Nathan G. Ward, an eminent surgeon of Philadelphia. . . . Capt. J. W. Meese, a veteran of the Civil War, 71.



MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY  
(Founder of the Lake Mohonk Conferences)

December 6.—Jonathan Scott Hartley, a well-known sculptor, 67. . . . Leander P. Mitchell, assistant Comptroller of the United States Treasury, 63.

December 7.—Sir George Howard Darwin, the English scientist, 67. . . . Dr. William B. Crum, United States Minister to Liberia and former Collector of the port of Charleston, 54.

December 8.—John R. Planten, Consul-General for the Netherlands in New York for twenty-nine years, 78. . . . Gen. Gates P. Thurston, author and soldier, veteran of the Civil War, 77.

December 9.—Alfred Pancoast Boller, president of the American Institute of Consulting Engineers, 73.

December 10.—George Burnham, of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, 95.

December 12.—Luitpold, Prince Regent of Bavaria, 91. . . . Susan Lincoln Mills, founder of the first college for women on the Pacific coast, 87.

December 13.—Bishop Thomas Augustus Jagger head of the American Protestant Episcopal Church in Europe, 73. . . . Dr. William Hand Browne, Emeritus Professor at Johns Hopkins University, 84.

December 15.—Whitelaw Reid, American Ambassador to Great Britain, 75 (see frontispiece). . . . Paul Smith, the well-known guide and hotel man of the Adirondacks, 87.

### POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1912

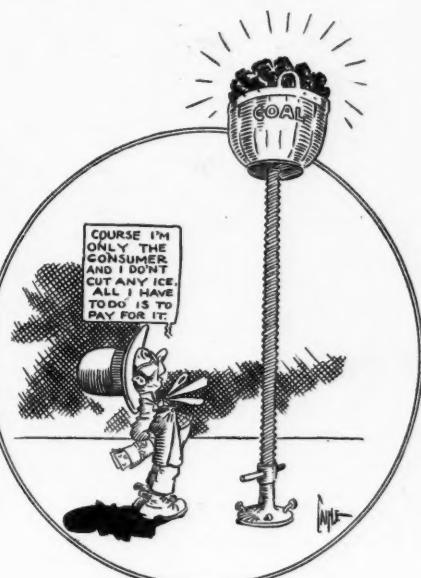
States	POPULAR VOTE								ELECTORAL VOTE		
	Wilson, Dem.				Roosevelt, Prog.				Pluralities		
	Roosevelt, Prog.	Wilson, Dem.	Taft, Rep.	Debs, Soc.	Chadin, Pro.	Reimer, Soc. Lab.	Wilson, Dem.	Roosevelt, Prog.	Taft, Rep.	Wilson, Dem.	Roosevelt, Prog.
Alabama	82,438	22,680	9,732	3,020	·	·	50,758	·	·	12	·
Arizona	10,324	6,946	3,021	3,163	265	·	3,375	·	·	3	·
Arkansas	68,838	21,673	24,467	8,153	898	·	44,371	·	174	9	2
California	283,436	283,610	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	2	·
Colorado	114,232	72,308	58,386	16,418	5,063	475	41,926	·	·	6	·
Connecticut	73,730	33,439	67,946	9,878	2,010	1,260	5,781	·	·	7	·
Delaware	22,631	8,886	15,997	556	623	·	6,634	·	·	3	·
Florida	36,417	4,535	4,279	4,806	1,854	·	31,611	·	·	6	·
Georgia	93,076	21,980	5,181	1,028	149	·	71,096	·	·	14	·
Idaho	33,921	25,527	32,810	11,960	1,537	·	1,111	·	·	4	·
Illinois	405,048	386,478	253,593	81,278	15,710	4,066	18,570	·	·	29	·
Indiana	281,890	162,007	151,267	36,931	19,249	3,130	119,883	·	·	15	·
Iowa	185,325	161,819	119,805	16,967	8,440	·	23,506	·	·	13	·
Kansas	143,670	120,123	74,844	26,807	·	·	23,547	·	·	10	·
Kentucky	219,584	102,766	115,512	11,647	3,233	956	104,072	·	·	13	·
Louisiana	61,035	9,323	3,834	5,249	·	·	51,712	·	·	10	·
Maine	51,113	48,493	26,545	2,541	945	·	2,620	·	·	6	·
Maryland	112,674	57,789	54,956	3,906	2,244	322	54,885	·	·	8	·
Massachusetts	173,408	142,228	155,948	12,616	2,754	1,102	17,460	·	·	18	·
Michigan	150,751	214,584	152,244	23,211	8,934	1,252	·	62,340	·	15	·
Minnesota	106,426	125,856	64,344	27,505	7,886	2,212	·	19,430	·	12	·
Mississippi	57,227	3,645	1,595	2,061	·	·	53,582	·	·	10	·
Missouri	330,947	123,111	207,409	28,148	5,222	1,778	123,538	·	·	18	·
Montana	27,941	22,456	18,512	10,885	32	·	5,485	·	·	4	·
Nebraska	109,008	72,614	54,216	10,174	3,383	·	36,394	·	·	8	·
Nevada	7,986	5,620	3,190	3,313	·	·	2,366	·	·	3	·
New Hampshire	34,724	17,794	32,927	1,981	535	·	1,797	·	·	4	·
New Jersey	178,289	145,410	88,835	15,801	2,878	1,321	32,879	·	·	14	·
New Mexico	20,437	8,347	17,733	2,859	·	·	2,704	·	·	3	·
New York	655,475	390,021	455,428	63,381	19,427	4,251	200,047	·	·	45	·
North Carolina	134,663	65,874	29,017	3,100	·	·	68,789	·	·	12	·
North Dakota	28,896	24,568	22,892	6,740	1,090	·	4,328	·	·	5	·
Ohio	423,153	229,327	277,066	89,930	11,459	2,623	146,087	·	·	24	·
Oklahoma	119,156	·	90,786	42,262	2,185	·	28,370	·	·	10	·
Oregon	47,064	37,600	34,673	13,343	4,360	·	9,464	·	·	5	·
Pennsylvania	395,619	447,426	273,305	80,915	19,533	704	·	51,807	·	38	·
Rhode Island	30,412	16,878	27,703	2,049	616	236	·	2,709	·	5	·
South Carolina	48,357	1,293	536	164	·	·	47,064	·	·	9	·
South Dakota	48,982	58,811	·	4,662	3,910	·	·	9,829	·	5	·
Tennessee	130,275	53,710	59,392	3,492	825	·	70,883	·	·	12	·
Texas	221,435	26,740	28,668	25,742	1,738	·	192,767	·	·	20	·
Utah	36,579	24,174	42,100	9,023	·	509	·	·	5,521	·	4
Vermont	15,354	22,073	23,334	928	1,115	·	·	1,261	·	12	·
Virginia	90,338	21,737	23,277	787	699	50	67,061	·	·	7	·
Washington	87,674	111,797	71,252	39,552	7,467	1,872	24,123	·	·	8	·
West Virginia	113,046	78,819	56,667	15,336	4,534	·	34,227	·	·	13	·
Wisconsin	164,228	62,460	130,695	33,481	8,526	522	33,533	·	·	13	·
Wyoming	15,310	9,232	14,560	2,760	434	·	750	·	·	3	·
Totals	6,282,542	4,114,585	3,480,470	820,606	181,762	28,641	·	435	88	8	·

Total vote, 14,908,615; Wilson's plurality, 2,167,957 Wilson's vote was 1,171,766 less than a majority.

## CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



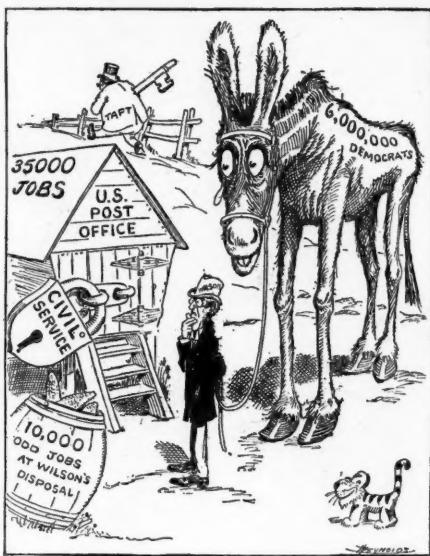
From *Punch's Almanac for 1913*





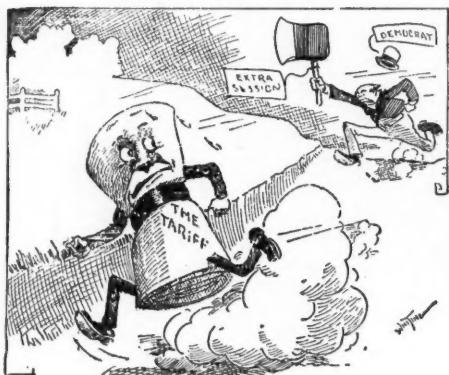
PARENTAL ANXIETY

(Referring to the "no fusion" advice given to the Progressive party by Colonel Roosevelt at Chicago last month)  
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



LOCKED OUT

(President Taft's action in putting into the Civil Service a large number of government positions, deprives the Democrats of just so many "jobs" for the faithful)  
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

INVITING THE PROGRESSIVES TO COME BACK  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

HOT ON THE TRAIL  
(The Democratic plan calls for an immediate beginning of the task of tariff revision)  
From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Indiana)



TROUBLE AHEAD FOR TARIFF REVISERS  
CHORUS OF CONGRESSMEN: "Reduce the tariff, but don't touch my State's interest"  
From the *Sun* (New York)



WOODROW WILSON: "WELL, GENTLEMEN, ALL RIGHT!"

(This German cartoon apparently intends to convey the idea that while Messrs. Taft and Roosevelt were quarreling, Mr. Wilson captured the Presidential prize)  
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



DROP BY DROP

(Professor Wilson will now arrange to make a delicate chemical demonstration, dropping his tariff revision solution into his graduated glass very carefully, in order to adjust it accurately to the requirements of present conditions)

From the *Register* (Mobile)

THE NEW PRESIDENT AND HIS TARIFF POLICY

Professor Woodrow Wilson, the President-elect of the United States, announces that he doesn't stand for free trade. All the same, he will probably try to find out how much tariff clipping the American bird will stand

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

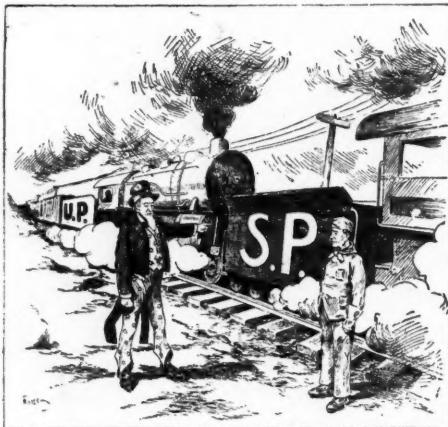


"SHE WON'T LET ME"

(The abandonment by the Grand Trunk Railroad of its project of building a section to connect with Providence, R. I., has been popularly ascribed to the influence of the New Haven Railroad: see pages 10-14)

From the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

The cartoons on this page deal with the New Haven Railroad situation and with the government's activities in the matter of trust regulation. Editorial comment on these subjects will be found on pages 10 to 14.



"UNCOPPLE THEM"

(Apropos of the United States Supreme Court decision in the case of the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific merger.)

From the *Post* (Pittsburgh, Penn.)



CLEANING IT UP

(Referring to the Government's action against the "Bath-tub trust")

From the *Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)

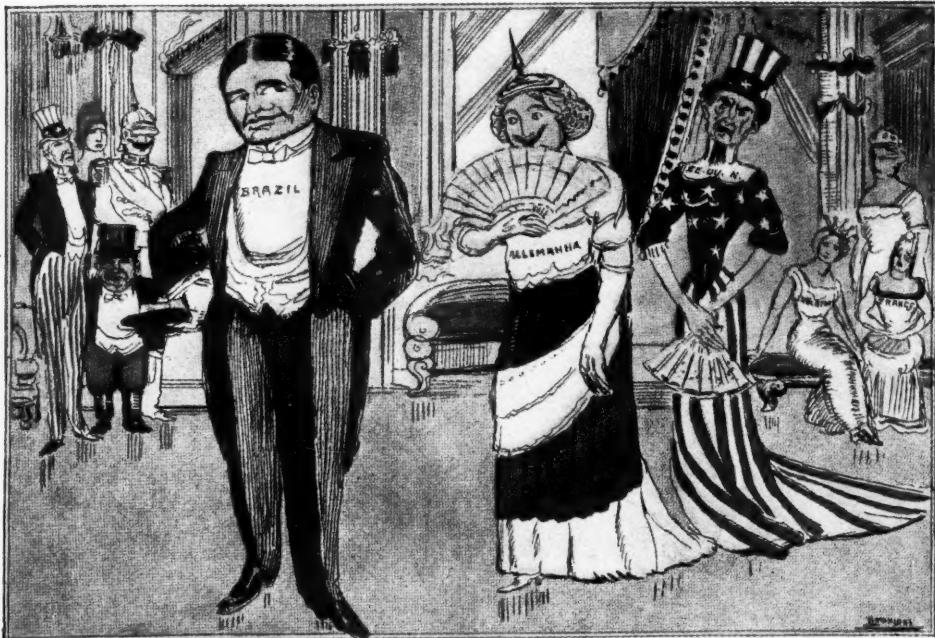


"AND THEY LIVED HAPPILY EVER AFTER, ETC."?

From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Alabama)

Mr. Bryan is filling a large place in the ally believed, but whether official or not, is as speculative discussion regarding the make-up yet unknown to the public. His name has of the new President's Cabinet. That he will been connected with several cabinet positions, be a close adviser to President Wilson is gener- particularly that of Secretary of State.

VERY NEAR TO IT (THE PRESIDENCY) AT LAST  
From the *Journal* (Boston)"GO AWAY"  
From the *Call* (San Francisco)



THE RIVALRY OF THE NATIONS FOR PRE-EMINENCE IN BRAZIL

(Germany, the United States, England, and France, represented by the figures on the right, are waiting for Brazil to show a preference as between them, while the fathers of these young ladies are solicitously looking on from the extreme left of the picture)

From *O Mahlo* (Rio de Janeiro)



AS TO "UNCLE SAM'S" GOBBLING UP SOUTH AMERICA  
PRESIDENT TAFT: "These sausages (marked Chili, Ecuador,  
Argentina, Brazil, etc.) are very tasty, but digesting them—  
that is another question"—From *Succesos* (Valparaiso)



SOUTH AMERICA VERSUS THE UNITED STATES

(The spider represents Uncle Sam, with Texas, Porto Rico, Panama, Havana, and Nicaragua already fast in his web. The battleships marked C. B., and A, stand for Chili, Brazil, and Argentina, who are considering the formation of a South American coalition against the further encroachments of Uncle Sam)

From *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires)

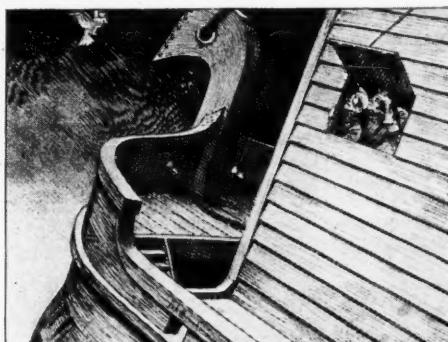


## A "THREATENING" SITUATION

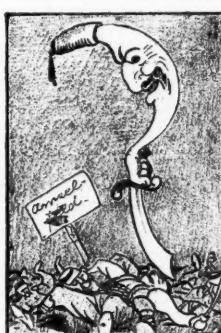
Serbia, having captured a port on the Adriatic, is threatened by Austria, who sees in the capture a gain for Russia. Russia, promptly comes to the protection of Serbia and threatens Austria, whereupon Germany rushes to Austria's protection and threatens Russia, and so on down the line. From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



THE POWERS SITTING UP NIGHTS  
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)



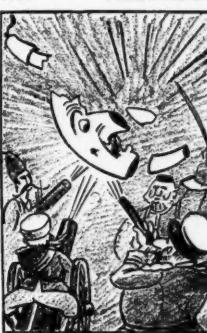
—“and the dove found not a resting place for the sole of her foot”  
From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)



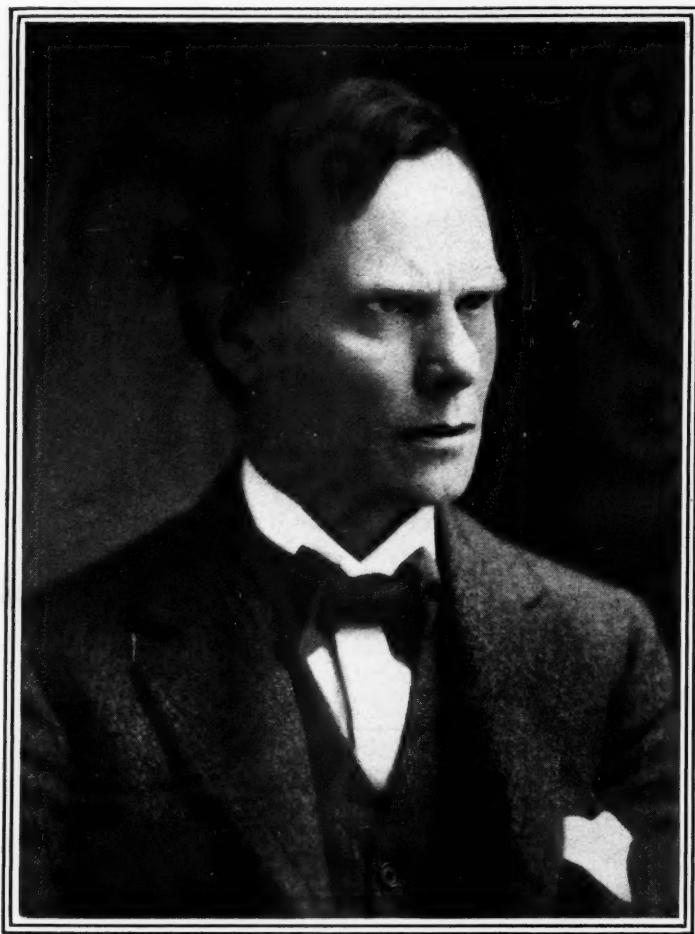
First quarter—the conquering Turk (1389)



Full moon—in safe possession (1683)  
Last quarter—the Balkan War (1912)  
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)



Total eclipse—is this the future?



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## A MESSAGE FROM THE NEW GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

[Hon. William Sulzer, whose term as Governor of New York begins on New Year's Day, in response to a request from the editor of this REVIEW, sends the following message, as to the spirit and purpose with which he enters upon his work, to our readers throughout the country, who will observe his further public career with especial interest. It is a fine avowal that Mr. Sulzer here makes; and it will bring him many good wishes from those who know how important is the work of his office.—THE EDITOR]

*THE Governorship of the State of New York safety of any man holding a high executive position is everywhere regarded the highest elective office in the United States save only the Presidency. I realize fully the responsibility it of which he is capable. We are entering a new era in the political and social life of America. I must meet and solve. In the future, as in the past, I shall do my duty to all the people to the best of my ability as God gives me the light. My object is to do right, and I shall struggle as I never struggled before to make good. You know it is my belief that the only possible generic sense.*

WILLIAM SULZER.

# WOODROW WILSON'S IDEAS OF THE PRESIDENCY

BY JAMES W. GARNER

(Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois)

IT is doubtful if any one has written about American politics with more originality, keenness of insight, and depth of understanding than the distinguished scholar whom the nation has lately called to the chief magistracy of the Republic. In his little book entitled "Congressional Government," written twenty-eight years ago, while he was still a student in the university, he analyzed with remarkable clearness of vision the characteristic features of our methods of congressional legislation and explained, largely by way of contrast, the essential differences between parliamentary government, or government by a responsible ministry, and what he called "congressional government," or government by irresponsible committees.

In his book entitled "Constitutional Government," published about four years ago and which embodies the ideas of a more mature mind, he writes in a more or less general way of the Presidency, the Congress, the courts, political parties, and the functions of the States in our federal republic.

His ideas of the Presidential office as it was in the minds of the framers of the Constitution, as it has developed and as it actually is to-day or should be, are, if not wholly new, very positive and definite and certainly cannot be without popular interest, now that he is soon to have an opportunity to play the great rôle which in his writings and speeches he has assigned to the President.

## THE PERSONAL EQUATION

At the outset Mr. Wilson very properly observes that the Presidency is not a fixed thing; it is one thing at one time and a different thing at another time, depending upon the man who occupies the office and upon the circumstances under which its powers are exercised. In short, the office is what the man makes of it. Some Presidents have been weak men and have not made use of the vast powers which custom and the written Constitution give them; others, not necessarily weak, have to a certain extent voluntarily

effaced themselves somewhat as the French Presidents have done and renounced certain of their rightful functions in favor of the legislative department, either through fear of provoking a conflict with a coördinate branch of the government, or upon the theory that the will of the legislature should be paramount when a difference arises.

They have not considered that they should be leaders of public opinion, or that they were in any positive manner responsible for the character of legislation enacted by Congress. They have been followers instead of moulders and leaders of public opinion, mere servants of the legislative will instead of influential guides and leaders of the legislature. When they have made perfunctory recommendations to Congress and occasionally vetoed a bill in obedience to a popular demand so widespread that they could hardly do otherwise, their duties in respect to legislation were considered to have been fulfilled.

## PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN REAL LEADERS

On the other hand, some Presidents have been men of great force and influence, with very definite and positive conceptions of their duties and unafraid of responsibility; they have considered the occupant of the Presidential office to be the leader and spokesman of the people, responsible for the carrying out of the legislative as well as the political policies of the party and consequently commissioned to guide and lead Congress in every legitimate way. Considering it their duty to direct Congress rather than to follow it, they have not been content to play the mere negative rôle of vetoing authority, but they have formulated their own programs of legislation and by means of argument and appeals to public opinion and sometimes by other means more reprehensible than legitimate they have compelled Congress to enact their recommendations into law. Such Presidents have left their impress upon the office, and it passed to their successors a very different office from that which they found.

For these reasons, as Mr. Wilson points out, it is easier to describe the Presidency as it is in the hands of a particular occupant than to describe the Presidency in general. The original conception of the Presidency, says Mr. Wilson, was that the President should be only the legal executive, that is, the presiding and enforcing authority in the application of the laws and the execution of public policy. This was the Whig conception of what the English King should be. His power in respect to legislation was to be chiefly negative, that is, the power to prevent bad legislation by means of his veto. It was to be a power of restraint rather than of guidance; he was expected to have little or no positive share in the determination of legislative policies and under no responsibility for the enactment of good laws. Much less was he expected to be the leader of his party and the guide of the nation in the shaping of its political policies. But as a matter of fact he has become both the guide of the nation in legislation and the chief of his party, and notwithstanding the varying practice and influence of different Presidents we have come more and more to look upon him as the unifying force in our complex system. And this dual rôle is not inconsistent with the spirit of the actual working Constitution though it may be with a mere mechanical theory of its meaning and intention.

#### BOTH LEGISLATIVE GUIDE AND PARTY CHIEF

In this connection Mr. Wilson elsewhere maintains that the Constitution cannot be regarded as a mere legal document to be read with subtlety and sophistication and to be construed as a will or a contract would be, but that it must, from the necessity of the case, be a vehicle of life, and the interpretation of it must change as the life of the nation changes, so that its spirit will always be the spirit of the age. The evolution of the working Constitution, and more especially that part of it which has to do with the method of his election, has forced upon the President the rôle of party leader. He is picked out from the body of the nation by the nominating convention, says Mr. Wilson, as a party leader and he is expected to stand before the country as the chief representative of the party in its purposes and principles. Not infrequently the country has shown a stronger belief in the man than in the party and nominating conventions have sometimes had the wisdom to perceive that what the country desires is not so much the election of an ex-

perienced and able statesman as some leader who represents the country in its national life and ideals and who can speak its real sentiments and purposes and direct its political opinion.

This explains to some extent why the old practice of nominating the most distinguished statesmen—members of cabinets, eminent Senators and great Speakers of the House of Representatives,—has fallen into desuetude. The office, as it has developed, no longer demands an able and experienced statesman so much as particular qualities of mind and character; it rather requires "a man who will be and who will seem to the country in some sort an embodiment of the character and purpose it wishes its government to have; a man who understands his own day and who has the personality and the initiative to enforce his views both upon the people and upon Congress." And this type of man is quite as likely to be found outside the ranks of experienced statesmen as within them.

The President is therefore preëminently the leader of his party and he cannot escape the responsibility except by incapacity; and as he is the only party leader for whom the entire country votes, he is consequently the only one whose responsibility is to the whole country. Senators and Representatives are chosen from restricted areas and are therefore not responsible in any effective manner to the nation as a whole, so that there is more and more a disposition to place upon the President the chief responsibility for carrying out the promises of the party in regard to legislation. Says Mr. Wilson:

So far as the government itself is concerned there is but one national voice in the country and that is the voice of the President. His isolation has quite unexpectedly been his exaltation. The House represents localities, is made up of individuals whose interest is the interest of separate and scattered constituencies, who are drawn together, indeed, under a master, the Speaker, but who are controlled by no national force except that of their party, a force outside the government rather than within it. The Senate represents in its turn regions and interests distinguished by many conflicting and contrasted purposes, united only by exterior party organization and a party spirit not generated within the chamber itself. Only the President represents the country as a whole, and the President himself is coöperatively bound to the houses only by the machinery and discipline of party, not as a person and a functionary, but as a member of an outside organization which exists quite independently of the executive and the legislature.

In the opinion of Mr. Wilson, therefore, the President should not only be the leader of his party and the spokesman for the nation

in political matters, but since there is an increasing disposition to hold him responsible for the fulfillment of the party pledges, he should exert a large influence in the determination of legislative programs and in the enactment of legislation. Leadership in government, he says, naturally belongs to the executive officers, who are daily in contact with practical conditions and exigencies and whose reputations alike for good judgment and fidelity are much more at stake in the application of the laws than are those of the legislative body. The law-making part of the government ought, therefore, to be very hospitable to suggestions from the executive department in regard to legislative needs. Concerning the voluntary abdication by certain of our Presidents of their power over legislation Mr. Wilson says:

Some of our Presidents have deliberately held themselves off from using the full power they might legitimately have used, because of conscientious scruples, because they were more theorists than statesmen. They have held the strict literary theory of the Constitution, the Whig theory, the Newtonian theory, and have acted as if they thought Pennsylvania Avenue should have been even longer than it is; that there should be no intimate communication of any kind between the Capitol and the White House; that the President as a man was no more at liberty to lead the houses of Congress by persuasion than he was at liberty as President to dominate them by authority,—supposing that he had, what he has not, authority enough to dominate them.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS

And yet, he adds, the Constitution explicitly authorizes the President to recommend to Congress "such measures as he shall deem necessary and expedient" and it is not essential to the integrity of even the literary theory of the Constitution that such recommendations should be merely perfunctory. Notwithstanding the power expressly conferred on the President by the Constitution some Presidents, he also adds, "have seemed to entertain a timid fear that they might offend some law of taste which had become a constitutional principle." It is the undoubted right of the President to employ all the personal force and influence that he may possess to compel Congress to enact his recommendations into law, and a courageous President backed by public opinion can accomplish much in this way.

Some Presidents, indeed, have been able to carry through in the face of opposition, ambitious legislative programs by this means, and some recent governors, including Mr. Wilson himself, have succeeded in a similar

manner. A tactful President of course will not attempt to bulldoze or cajole Congress into adopting his recommendations, and he will not be overbearing in his attitude, but if he is a strong man he will endeavor to overcome the opposition by persuasion, argument and what Mr. Wilson calls the force of "pitiless publicity," through which public opinion will be aroused and brought to bear upon indifferent or hostile representatives.

Mr. Wilson very properly recognizes, however, that there are illegitimate means by which the President may influence Congress—such as the use of his power of patronage, or by the more arbitrary method of ignoring or even of overriding the laws, but such means are "deeply immoral, they are destructive of the fundamental understanding of constitutional government and therefore, of constitutional government itself. They are sure, moreover, in a country of free public opinion, to bring their own punishment, to destroy both the fame and the power of the man who dares to practice them. No honorable man includes such agencies in a sober exposition of the Constitution or allows himself to think of them when he speaks of the influences of 'life' which govern each generation's use and interpretation of that great instrument, our sovereign guide and the object of our deepest reverence. Nothing in a system like ours can be constitutional which is immoral or which touches the good faith of those who have sworn to obey the fundamental law. The reprobation of all good men will always overwhelm such influences with shame and failure."

#### THE NATION DEMANDS LEADERSHIP

As Mr. Wilson observes, the President is at liberty both in law and conscience to be as big a man as he can, his own capacity being the limit, and if he is able to overcome the opposition of Congress it will be because he has the nation behind him whereas Congress has not. "The whole country," he said in his address before the Commercial Club at Portland, Oregon, in 1911, "since it cannot decipher the methods of its legislation, is clamoring for leadership; and a new rôle, which, to many persons, seems little less than unconstitutional, is thrust upon our executives. The people are impatient of a President or a Governor who will not formulate a policy and insist upon its adoption. They are impatient of a Governor who will not exercise energetic leadership, who will not make his appeals directly to public opinion

and insist that the dictates of public opinion who have earned the confidence of their be carried out in definite legal reforms of his party."

The history of the cabinet, he says, affords a striking illustration of the growth of the idea that the President is not merely the executive head of the country but is also its political leader. More and more the old practice of appointing to cabinet positions the recognized leaders of the party—those who had sometimes been the rivals of the President for the nomination, has been disregarded; the President has ceased to regard the cabinet as a council of party leaders but rather as a body of personal advisers, and he has come more and more to seek his associates from among his personal friends, business associates, and professional colleagues—eminent citizens rather than experienced political leaders, who have given evidence of their success in the management of private concerns, or in the prosecution of private professions—all of which goes to show that the President himself is the only leader of his party and the members of his cabinet merely his private advisers. The cabinet, therefore, is an executive rather than a political body.

#### THE CABINET,—NOT A POLITICAL BODY

From the very necessities of the situation the President cannot administer, he cannot himself execute the laws, he can give attention only to the larger questions of policy that are brought to him by his subordinates; he must therefore delegate the duty of carrying out the laws to his chief subordinates, that is, the heads of the great executive departments over whom he retains the right of control. Under these conditions the President has tended to become more and more a political chief and less and less an executive officer, while the cabinet has become an executive rather than a political body.

The relation of the President to his cabinet will depend upon the man and his gifts. "His office is a mere vantage ground from which he may be sure that the effective words of advice and timely efforts at reform will gain telling momentum. He has the ear of the nation as of course, and a great person may use such an advantage greatly. If he uses the opportunity, he may take his cabinet into partnership or not, as he pleases; and so its character may vary with his. Self-reliant men will regard their cabinets as executive councils; men less self-reliant or more prudent will regard them as political councils, and will wish to call into them men

#### INITIATIVE IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

One of the greatest powers of the President, says Mr. Wilson, is his almost absolute control of the foreign relations of the country. His initiative in the conduct of foreign affairs is subjected to no restrictions, and while the consent of the Senate is necessary to the conclusion of a treaty, his right of initiative gives him the power to determine what treaties shall be made, and when once made, if the times are critical, the government is virtually committed. The rôle of the President in this domain has been tremendously increased by the position which the United States has attained as one of the greatest powers of the world, so that the President can never again be a mere domestic executive as he once was. "Henceforth our President must always be one of the great powers of the world, whether he acts greatly and wisely or not, and the best statesman we can produce will be needed to fill the office of Secretary of State. We have begun to see the presidential office in this light; but it is the light which will more and more beat upon it and more and more determine its character and its effect upon the politics of the nation. We can never again hide our President as a mere domestic officer. . . . He must stand always at the front of our affairs and the office will be as big and as influential as the man who occupies it."

#### CENTERING POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

We may summarize, then, almost in his own words Mr. Wilson's views of the great office which he is soon to occupy: Originally the President was regarded merely as the legal executive, perhaps, the leader of the nation, but certainly not the leader of his party, at any rate while in office. But through the operation of forces inherent in the very nature of government he has become all three, and by inevitable consequence, the most heavily burdened officer in the world. The burden of fulfilling these three rôles, with their ever increasing demands upon his time and strength, is so great that men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot bear it and live, unless the strain be somewhat relieved. If this is not done we shall be obliged, he says, to pick our chief magistrates from among the necessarily small class of wise and prudent athletes.

Mr. Wilson doubts, however, whether the deliberate opinion of the country would consent to make of the President a less powerful officer than he is. It lies with the President himself, he says, to secure his own relief, without shirking his responsibility or effacing himself. He may, if he will, act more and more upon the advice of his executive colleagues in the making of appointments and upon them he may devolve the determination of multitudinous details, reserving for himself only the larger questions of policy and a general oversight of the business of government and of his subordinates who actually carry it on. Too many Presidents have taken their work literally and have attempted the impossible. "But," he concludes, "we can safely predict that as the multitude of the President's duties increases, as it must with the growth and widening activities of the nation itself, the incumbents of the great office will more and more come to feel that they are administering it in its truest purpose and with greatest effect by regarding themselves as less and less executive officers and more and more directors of affairs and leaders of the nation,—men of counsel and of the sort of action that makes for enlightenment."

It may be said that this view of the executive office is not the theoretical opinion of an academic scholar. As governor of New Jersey Mr. Wilson acted on the principle that the office of governor is something more than that of a mere legal executive but, as he said in an address before the "House of Governors" at Frankfort in November, 1910, the executive must represent, persuade, and lead the people and when he is supported by public opinion he must also lead the legislature.

As governor, Mr. Wilson was remarkably successful in enforcing his own views upon the legislature. He appeared before legislative committees and at informal meetings of the legislature to urge the enactment of measures which he had recommended and he stood ready when occasion required to go before the people and make an appeal for the support of public opinion. But resort to such measures was unnecessary and the mere threat of the governor to appeal to the electorate broke down the opposition. The result was the enactment of a body of progressive legislation perhaps unequaled in the history of the single session of any other American legislature.

This idea of the rôle of the executive is not Mr. Wilson's alone although he has done more than any other American executive

to give it practical form and to demonstrate its possibilities. It has been championed by other governors, notably by Mr. Hughes of New York, and it is in thorough harmony with one of the clearest political tendencies of the time, namely, the concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a single person. This tendency is the inevitable result of a reaction against the evils of our American system of an overdivided responsibility and it is an indication that we are getting away from the notion that concentration of power is necessarily dangerous, especially when it is coupled with an effective system of popular responsibility. The old idea that the popular branch of the government must necessarily be paramount has fewer supporters now than formerly and it is patent to every one that the executive has been steadily gaining over the legislative department.

The chief difficulty with this view of the executive office, however, will be the practical impossibility of finding a man big enough to play such a rôle wisely and successfully. It will require tact, courage, fearlessness, a powerful personal influence, readiness to assume responsibility, the highest elements of leadership and rare qualities of statesmanship. Few of our later Presidents, at least, have possessed such unusual qualifications. Mr. Cleveland essayed to play somewhat the rôle which Mr. Wilson attributes to the executive and he succeeded not only in stamping his character on the Presidential office but he left it stronger and more powerful than he found it. However, and here is a warning for our new President, Mr. Cleveland's policy brought him into almost hopeless conflict with Congress and he left his party disorganized and he retired more or less discredited.

Whether Mr. Wilson will be able to succeed where Mr. Cleveland failed, remains to be seen. He has clearly demonstrated that he possesses unusual gifts of leadership, strength of character, and personal popularity—qualities which Mr. Cleveland did not possess in so full a measure. The office to which he has been called by the voice of the country is, even according to the narrowest interpretation of its powers, undoubtedly the greatest in the world (Mr. Bryce excepts only the Papacy), and if he succeeds in fulfilling the triple rôle which, according to his view, the occupant of the office must or should play—namely, that of legal executive, party leader, and political guide of the nation—he will leave the Presidency a more powerful office than it was when he assumed it.



PARCEL POST RATE ZONES FROM NEW YORK CITY

## THE PARCEL POST

### BY HOWARD FLORANCE

**O**N January 1 a system of sending through the mails packages weighing eleven pounds or less will go into effect in this country, the Government having heretofore refused to accept parcels weighing more than four pounds. Included in the scheme is a radical lowering of the existing rate.

No longer will the pondering American wonder why such a system could be operated advantageously in more than a score of the nations of the world,—even in China,—and yet not be practicable here. Nor will he ask himself and his friends why he could mail an eleven-pound package from San Francisco to London, via New York, but would not be permitted to mail an identical package from San Francisco to New York.

Almost everyone has seemed to favor increasing our postal service so as to include the carrying of parcels, and yet the fight had to be waged long and bitterly. Mr. John Wanamaker, the well-known merchant,—himself a former Postmaster-General,—is quoted as having said, many years ago, that there were four obstacles to the establishment of a parcel post in this country. And he thereupon enumerated four companies which were doing the greater part of our express business at that time. It also had been fre-

quently asserted (whether justly or not) that no provision for a parcel post would come from the United States Senate so long as the Empire State was represented in that body by two gentlemen, one of whom was at the time chairman of the board of directors of one of the largest railroad systems in the country, and the other of whom was president of a large express company.

These express companies, however, are now fairly meek and mild under the benign influence of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the State of New York has lost the services of the two Senators in question.

The agitation for a parcel post in this country is said to date back forty years. The chief opponents, besides the express companies, seem to have been the small country storekeepers, who feared the competition of the large mail-order houses.

It fairly exemplifies our American temperament that when Congress finally passed a bill, last August, authorizing the establishment of a comprehensive parcel-post system, it seemed to attract but little attention from the public and the press. After forty years' agitation, the thing sought for is accepted with hardly a commendatory word or a "thank you."

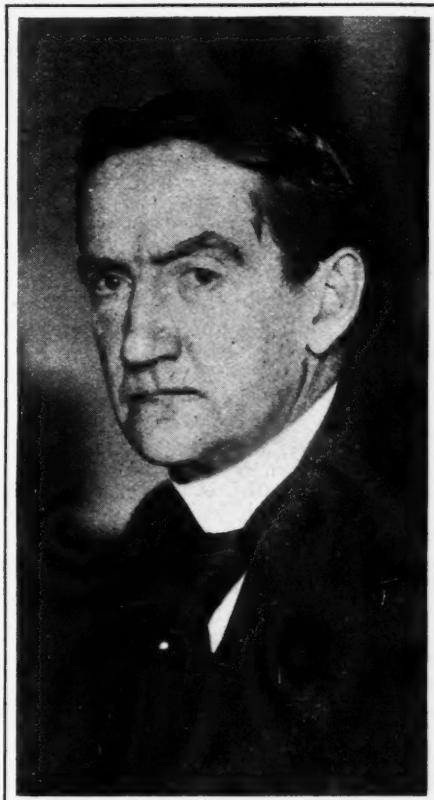
## A YEAR IN CONGRESS

Important legislation is often enacted by our national lawmaking body with comparatively little debate,—particularly if the bill in question comes up during the closing weeks of a session protracted through months of hot summer weather. The method of procedure, especially in the case of the annual appropriation bills (of one of which the parcel-post measure was a part), is for the standing committees of each House to devote many weeks to hearings upon each section; and then more weeks to debate among the members themselves. The measures which are reported from these committees are, with more or less modification, usually made laws.

The parcel-post provision in the Post Office appropriation bill, for instance, had its beginnings in the special session of 1911. During the debate in the Senate over the Canadian Reciprocity measure, Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Oregon, chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, was able to present and secure the passage of a resolution authorizing his committee to inquire into the practicability of a parcel post. That committee designated seven of its members as a sub-committee to carry on the investigation.

Inquiry was made into the parcel-post systems of other countries,—not by “junkets” or Congressional tours at Government expense, but by correspondence with our diplomatic representatives abroad. Precise information was obtained from forty-three countries having a parcel post. Hearings were then held at Washington, running over a period of five months; and any one who appeared was given opportunity to plead for or against the proposed extension of our postal service. The information gathered by this sub-committee was used in the preparation of a bill introduced in the Senate last May.

In the meantime, a strong fight for a parcel post had been waged in the House of Representatives, under the leadership of William Sulzer, of New York. The net result of the debate in this branch was the adoption of two amendments to the Post Office appropriation bill, one extending to our own communities the same rates which apply to foreign countries (i.e., an eleven-pound limit, at twelve cents per pound), and the other establishing an experimental system on rural routes, at five cents per pound. These measures were sent to the Senate, in the regular course of procedure.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

(Chairman of the Senate Post Office Committee and author of the Parcel Post measure)

The Post Office committee of that body, however, believed it could secure the passage of its own bill, admitted to be more comprehensive. The Senate measure therefore displaced the two House amendments referred to. Chairman Bourne explained the bill in detail to the Senate, by means of printed reports, tables, and other memoranda, and it was adopted on August 13. The House cheerfully accepted the Senate's broader bill.

## RATES AND ZONES

As adopted by Congress and signed by the President, the parcel-post measure extends the limit of weight on fourth-class matter from four pounds to eleven<sup>1</sup> pounds, and lowers the postage rate from sixteen cents a pound to a graduated scale (based upon distance) or from five cents to twelve cents

<sup>1</sup> The equivalent of five kilograms, the standard adopted by the Universal Postal Union.

for the first pound, and one cent to twelve cents for each additional pound. Because of the great distances between our boundaries, a zone system was adopted, so that those who send packages to nearby points will not have to pay part of the cost of the longer hauls.

In concise form the rates are as follows:

Rural route and city delivery	First Pound.	Each Additional Pound.	Eleven Pounds.
50 mile zone	.05	.03	.35
150 mile zone	.06	.04	.46
300 mile zone	.07	.05	.57
600 mile zone	.08	.06	.68
1000 mile zone	.09	.07	.79
1400 mile zone	.10	.09	1.00
1800 mile zone	.11	.10	1.11
Over 1800 miles	.12	.12	1.32

The package must not be greater than seventy-two inches in length and girth combined. If it is fourteen inches square at one end, for instance, it must not be more than sixteen inches long. If it is only three inches square at the end, it can be sixty inches long.

Books, magazines, and other printed matter are excluded from the parcel post. The present rates on these classes of merchandise are, however, comparatively low.

#### PARCEL POSTS IN WORLD-WIDE USE

Perhaps the greatest force in the campaign for the adoption of a package post was the successful experience of other countries, large and small, over long periods of years. It is not often that the United States lags behind in the matter of providing conveniences for its inhabitants. But a search through the postal laws of European nations shows that each and every one—with the single exception of Spain—had a parcel post while we were meekly urging one and Congress was debating its need and appointing commissions to inquire into its practicability and desirability.

If the seeker for the startling is not then satisfied, let him look at the postal laws of Asia. He will find that the Russian post office will carry a twelve-pound package from

St. Petersburg, across Siberia, to the farthest corner of the island of Saghalien or of Russian Manchuria—a journey of some 4500 miles—for less than a dollar. He will find that Turkey engages to forward by mail parcels weighing as much as eighty-eight pounds, and that China and Japan have up-to-date and efficient package service.

Mexico and many Central and South American countries also have parcel posts, varying considerably in rules and regulations but recognizing that the duties of a government post do not end with the forwarding of letters and other small pieces.

It is in the countries which control their railroad systems, or portions of them, that we find the parcel post *par excellence*. In Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia, and Colombia we find the post office offering to carry packages weighing 100 pounds or more. In Austria, for instance, you can send your trunk by mail, your bicycle, baby carriage, or even pieces of furniture.

Our Post Office Department is valiantly wrestling with innumerable problems which have arisen since the passage of the measure creating the parcel post,—such as when and where packages shall be accepted in the cities and towns, the issuing of a special postage stamp, and provision for the increased business.

A very difficult matter was the creation of means by which the postmasters throughout the country will be able to ascertain quickly the rate to any given locality. The plan adopted is based upon half-degrees of latitude and longitude, and divides the United States into 3500 units, about thirty-five miles square. Each of these is given a number, and all the post offices in the square bear that number. An alphabetical index gives the number of the square in which a city, town, or village is located; and a glance at the map, on which the zones are marked, shows immediately the rate to be applied.

A COMPARISON OF EXPRESS AND PARCEL-POST RATES

	1 miles	3 miles	5 miles	8 miles	11 miles
	LBS.	LBS.	LBS.	LBS.	LBS.
50 Express rate <sup>1</sup>	.25	.25	.30	.35	.35
miles Parcel-post rate	.05	.11	.17	.26	.35
150 Express rate	.25	.30	.40	.45	.45
miles Parcel-post rate	.06	.14	.22	.34	.46
300 Express rate	.25	.35	.45	.55	.60
miles Parcel-post rate	.07	.17	.27	.42	.57
600 Express rate	.25	.45	.55	.70	.75
miles Parcel-post rate	.08	.20	.32	.50	.68
1000 Express rate	.25	.45	.70	.90	1.00
miles Parcel-post rate	.09	.23	.37	.58	.79
1800 Express rate	.30	.45	.80	1.20	1.50
miles Parcel-post rate	.12	.36	.60	.96	1.32
2500 Express rate	.30	.45	.80	1.20	1.60
miles Parcel-post rate	.12	.36	.60	.96	1.32
3300 Express rate	.30	.45	.80	1.20	1.60
miles Parcel-post rate	.12	.36	.60	.96	1.32

<sup>1</sup> From New York, where express charges are said to be the lowest in the country.

As soon as these problems have been solved, and the Department has demonstrated its ability to carry on the work efficiently, it is

to be hoped that it will devote its attention to several minor—though extremely important—extensions of the system, such as insurance, special delivery, and a C. O. D. provision, whereby the post office will collect, and forward to the shipper, the payment for the goods delivered. This system is successfully used in Germany. Mr. A. can order from Mr. B. a gold mesh bag or a diamond ring, valued at \$200. Mr. B. never before had dealings with Mr. A., but he fills the order and sends the package by mail, C. O. D. The postman collects the \$200 when he delivers the package, and forwards the money, by next mail, to Mr. B. The advantages of such a system are apparent.

#### POSSIBLE EFFECT ON COST OF LIVING

Aside from the direct saving in rates, the parcel post may be the means of materially lessening the cost of living by bringing the producer in immediate contact with the consumer. Thus in Germany, and other European countries, many families in the cities and towns have for years obtained the more common articles of food by mail, direct from the producer.

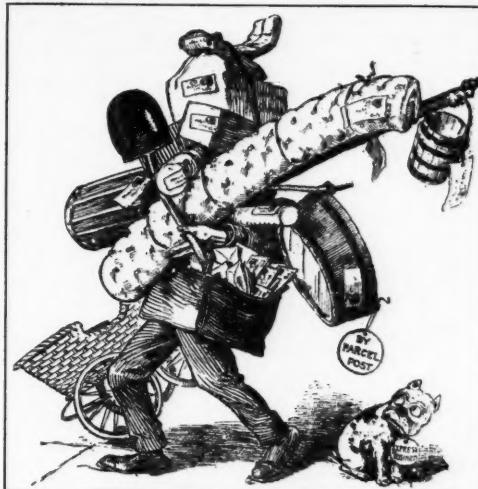
It was pointed out in the article on "The Middleman," in the November issue of this magazine, that sometimes as many as six separate and distinct concerns or individuals handle an article before it reaches the one who purchases it for his own use,—and each adds a profit to its original cost. This is particularly true of the common articles of food.

As concrete illustrations, let us compare the prices which producers get for butter, eggs, and chicken, as reported by the Department of Agriculture, with the prices which the consumer pays, as given in the market reports of a metropolitan daily newspaper. Both sets of figures are for the same day (October 1), and each represents the average price for first-grade products.

	Producer Received.	Consumers Paid.	Middlemen's Profits.
Butter (pound)	\$0.25	\$0.36	\$0.11
Eggs (dozen)	.22	.40	.18
Chicken (pound)	.11½	.21	.09½

It is fair to assume that the small producer in the country would be willing to sell to consumers in the city at about the same prices that he gets from wholesale dealers. It is also likely that everyone lives within fifty miles of a farmhouse.

Purchasing your butter from the farmer, therefore, in quantities of two pounds or more,



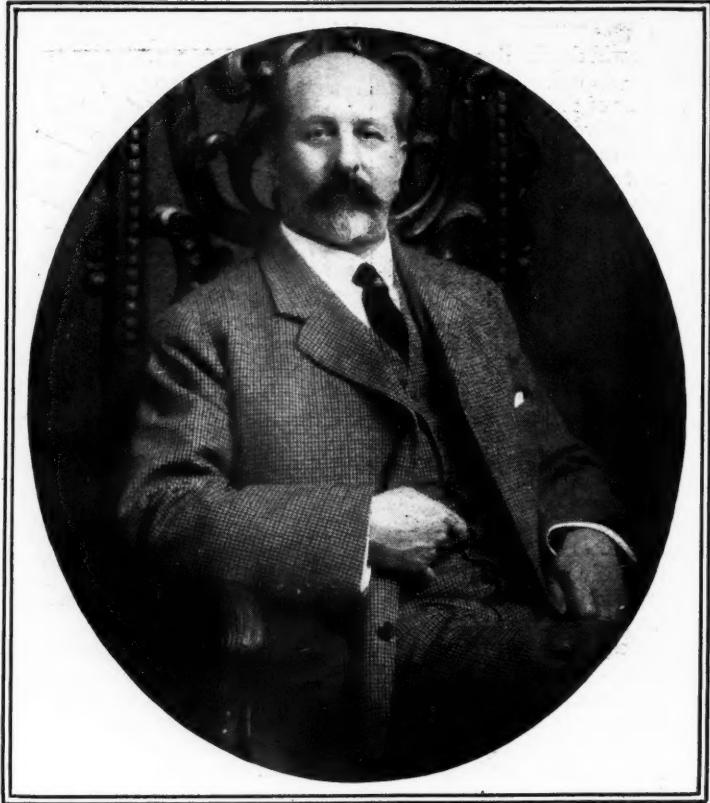
THE WAY THE MAIL-CARRIER MAY APPEAR UNDER THE PARCEL POST, ACCORDING TO THE CARTOONIST OF THE NEW YORK "HERALD"

you pay him 25 cents a pound, plus the transportation charges—by parcel post—from his door to your own, about 4 cents a pound. Compared with the grocer's price, you save 7 cents on every pound of butter which you use, and you get fresh butter.

Two dozen eggs, in a suitable container, will weigh less than three pounds. Paying the farmer 44 cents for them, allowing perhaps 3 cents for the cost of the container, and adding the charge for carriage, your eggs would cost you 29 cents a dozen,—a saving of 11 cents on a dozen or nearly one cent on each egg.

A three-pound chicken, with head and feet amputated, would still weigh less than three pounds when wrapped securely. Buying direct from the producer, it would cost 11½ cents a pound, plus 3½ cents a pound for postage,—in all, 18 cents less than you would have to pay your butcher for the same fowl.

The use of the parcel post for these three items alone would materially lessen the cost of living for the average family in the city, besides insuring the purchase of fresh products. And if it is possible to get these things direct from the producer, it is easy to conceive how the system could be used advantageously in countless other fields. To have sent such things in the past, by express, the transportation charges would have been more than twice as much, and the farmer would have had to cart the package to the railroad station. Now he will simply hand it to the driver on his rural-free-delivery route.



Copyright by Pach Bros., New York

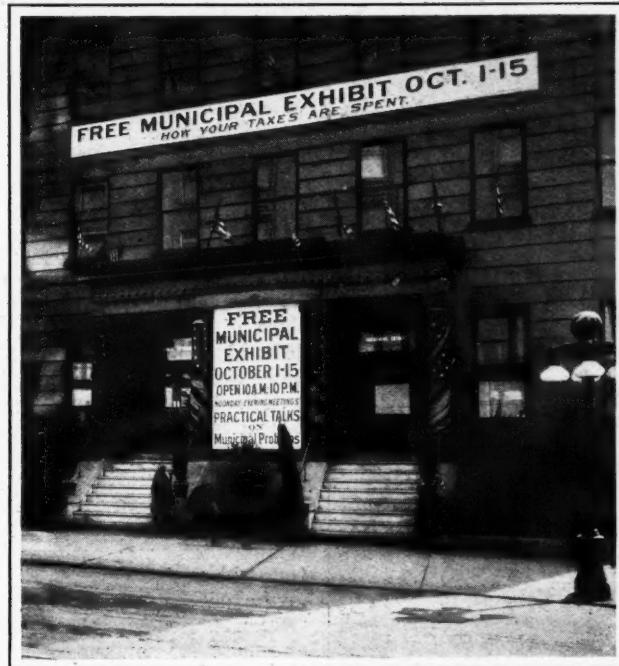
## GUSTAV H. SCHWAB

A TALENTED business man, a citizen of active and intense patriotism, a man of refined tastes, benevolent disposition, and a healthy habit of recreation,—such was the rounded character of Gustav H. Schwab, who died in New York on November 12, last. Mr. Schwab was born in New York City, educated in Stuttgart, and began his business career in Bremen, returning after a few years to the United States to enter the firm of Oelrichs & Company, general agents in this country of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company.

Always a worker for civic betterment, Mr. Schwab helped to organize the Citizens' Union of New York, which elected Seth Low, Mayor, and in fact took part in three of the great municipal reform movements in that city during the past twenty-five years. As a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, he participated in the sound money campaign of the early '90's, served on a num-

ber of important committees having to do with foreign commerce, the tariff, and revenue laws, and was instrumental in starting the movement for the thousand-ton barge canal for the State of New York. Large public committees also, for whatever purpose appointed, almost invariably included Mr. Schwab's name as a member. Charitable enterprises ever found him a ready sympathizer.

The grandson and namesake of a German poet, Mr. Schwab belonged to that substantial body of citizens of German ancestry who are remarkable for a high order of business ability, a political idealism that impels them to enter reform movements, and a native love of culture and progress characteristic of men of the type of Carl Schurz, with whom he was on terms of close friendship. His reputation as a business man and public-spirited citizen extended beyond the limits of the metropolis in which he lived, and was indeed international.



FRONT VIEW OF BUILDING (THE OLD ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL) WHERE THE CINCINNATI BUDGET EXHIBIT WAS HELD

## VISUALIZING CINCINNATI'S BUDGET

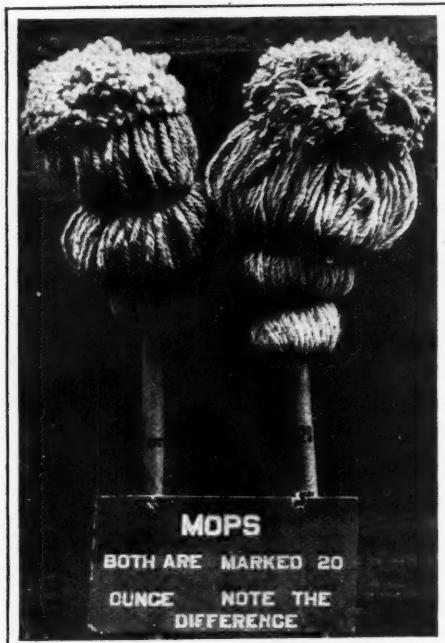
AT the last election the voters of Cincinnati were requested to approve an extra tax levy for the year 1913 in order to provide for the city officials a sufficient sum to enable them to run their several departments. Under former conditions such a proposition would have been voted upon by the citizens without intelligence and its adoption would have been purely a matter of chance. The city government of Cincinnati at the present time, however, is alive to the importance of having the citizens know precisely how their money is spent. The approval of the tax levy, on November 5, by the decisive vote of 49,254 to 28,164 represented the deliberate judgment of the taxpayers of Cincinnati, reached after a thorough canvass of the financial needs of their city administration.

How was it possible to get such a decision, and by what process of education were the voters fitted to pass judgment on matters

which ordinarily might seem to belong to the province of special departmental officers? The means employed for the enlightenment of Cincinnati's taxpayers on the finances of their city government was a so-called Budget Exhibit which was held by the Bureau of

Municipal Research. When the city officials set up their claim that in order to run their departments as they should be run they required \$1,000,000 more than was available without this extra levy tax, the bureau declared that it would not be possible for the people to act intelligently on the council's request for an increased levy until they should be shown what the city's departments were already doing, what they would be able to do if the levy were voted, and what service would have to be discontinued if it were not voted. The various city departments co-operated, therefore, with the Bureau of Municipal Research in presenting charts, judgment of the object-lessons, all tending to illustrate the actual work carried on by the city, as well

as possible improvements in service that might be instituted if larger annual grants were available. It is quite probable also that besides serving to educate the taxpayers and the general public in these matters of city expenditures, the exhibit was further useful in stimulating public officials and employees to a keener appreciation of the tasks before them and



MOPS: IS INSPECTION NECESSARY?

a healthier interest in presenting the capacities and needs each of his own department.

This, at least, has been the effect of similar "budget exhibits" held in New York and other cities, and indeed is to be reckoned as one of the chief benefits to be derived from such exhibits.

The Cincinnati Budget Exhibit was well advertised throughout the city and on the first of October it was opened to the public in the old St. Nicholas Hotel. It continued only two weeks, but during that time there was an attendance of 109,247, or nearly one-third of the entire population of the city. It had long been the rule in Cincinnati, as in other cities, to have a small proportion of men in attendance at public meetings held for educational, religious, and civic purposes, but this exhibit brought men in large numbers who were vitally interested in what they saw there.

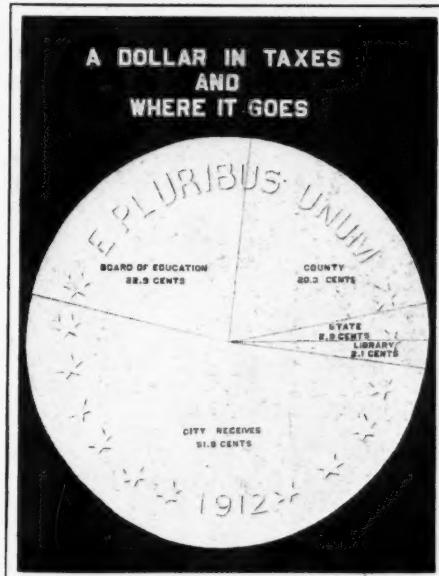
There were many things in the exhibit of direct personal interest to the individual consumer, whether man or woman, wholly apart from the main purpose of setting forth the municipal budgetary needs. For example, women learned from the city sealer of weights and measures how they might be cheated in their purchases of vegetables or coal. They also were taught how a small leak can increase the water bill, and one of the city firemen instructed them exactly how to turn in a fire alarm. All ages and classes of women were



IN THIS WAY THE CINCINNATI STREET-CLEANING DEPARTMENT SHOWED THAT IT WAS SAVING THE CITY'S MONEY

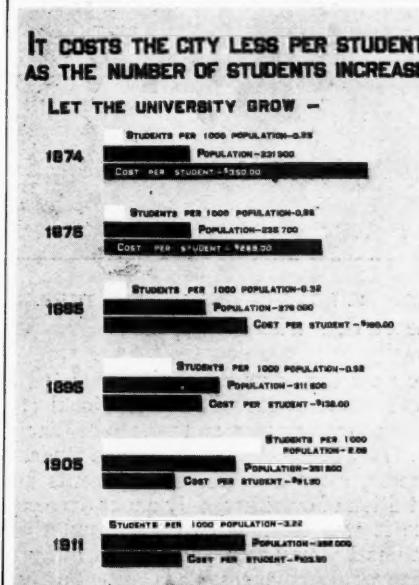
represented. Some came in their automobiles and some stopped on their way home from work. Every day at noon and in the evening public officials gave short talks, making it clear, for instance, why the city's purchasing agent has to test coal samples for heat units, how he saves money by making soap and paint, and how the dairy inspection of the Health Department directly affects the purity of the bottled milk delivered daily at every door. In a single day 10,000 people who could not have been hired to read a municipal report were brought, through their senses of sight and touch, to realize some of the most important activities of the Cincinnati city government, and to feel in some measures their own civic responsibility for the maintenance of those activities.

The visitor to the exhibit learned that among the objects for which the money derived from the new levy is to be spent are public concerts, a bureau of efficiency, a university night school, seven district physicians to look after poor people who cannot afford their own doctors, and ten school nurses.



A GRAPHIC WAY OF TELLING WHAT HAPPENS TO THE TAXPAYERS' DOLLAR IN CINCINNATI

## A MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY'S CLAIMS TO PUBLIC SUPPORT

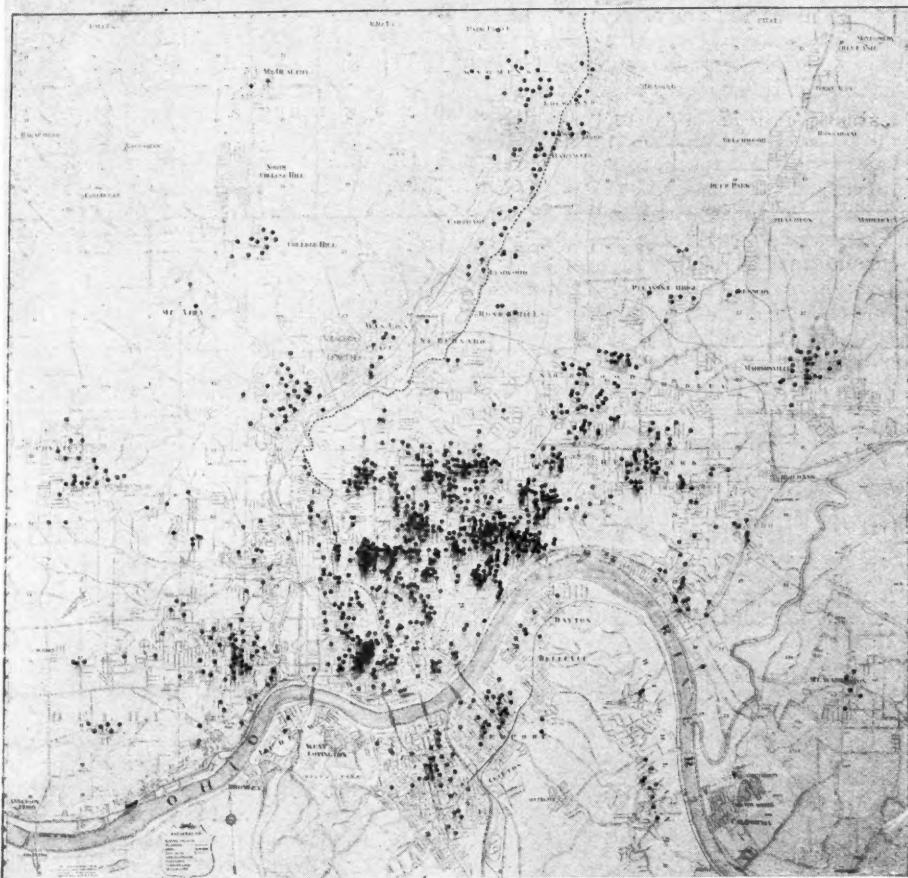


BY THIS DIAGRAM THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI MADE IT CLEAR THAT AS THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS INCREASES THE COST PER STUDENT GROWS LESS

PERHAPS no feature of the Cincinnati Budget exhibit of October last was more impressive than the showing made by the University of Cincinnati. This municipal university, unlike any other institution of learning in the country, is closely related to all of the city's educational, industrial, social, medical, and benevolent interests. One function of the exhibit was to show, by means of charts, how the university serves the city. It includes colleges of arts, of pedagogy, of engineering, of medicine, and of commerce. The College of Medicine, for example, coöperates with the City Hospital, the Board of Health, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, the Maternity Society, the Visiting Nurses' Association, and the Milk Commission. The College for Teachers coöperates with the public schools in training teachers, with the Art Academy in maintaining a normal art course, with the kindergarten school in preparing kindergartners and teachers of household economics.

The College of Engineering showed by a map its remarkable system of coöperation with industrial plants. Seventy-two manufacturing establishments are now affiliated with this college in training students.

**DOES IT LOOK AS IF THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI  
WAS A UNIVERSITY FOR THE RICH ?**



Copyright by Mendenhall, Cincinnati

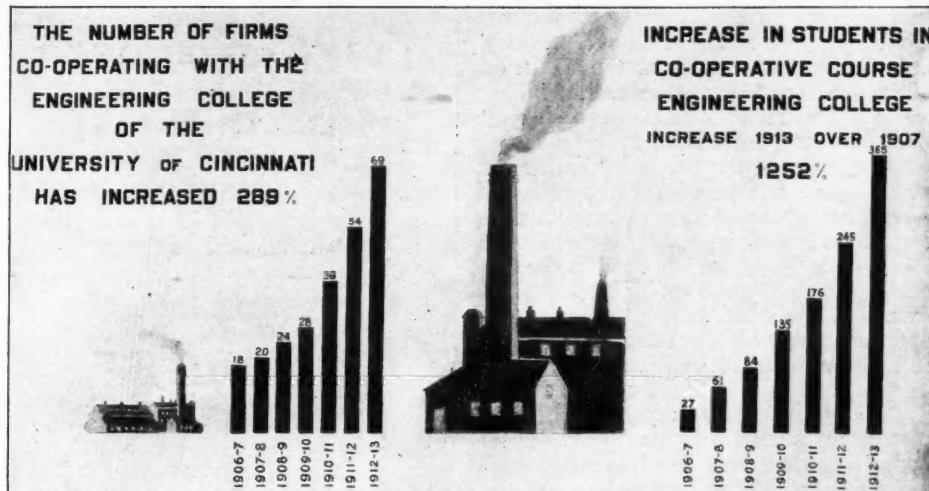
**EVERY PIN-HEAD ON THIS MAP OF CINCINNATI MARKS THE HOME OF A UNIVERSITY STUDENT**

(Most of the students come from families of moderate means)

The College of Arts maintains evening classes for the benefit of those students who have to work during the day. It has six hundred of these evening students who are getting the full advantages of the college course.

Charts emphasized the fact that this great municipal university is maintained at a cost of thirty-six cents per capita per year, that the city of Cincinnati sent to other universities (not including professional students) only 245 young men in 1911-12, while in the

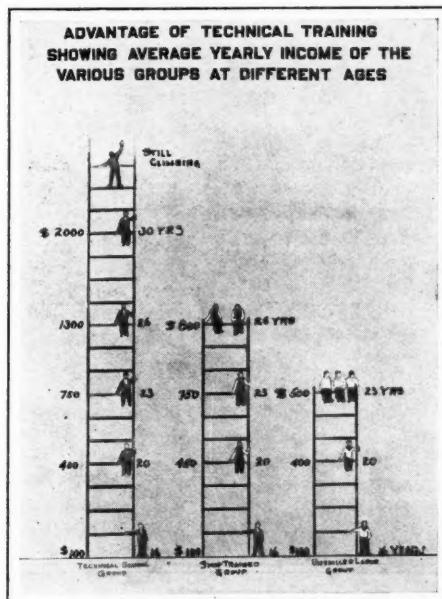
same year the home university educated in its colleges (not including professional students) 990 young men and women of Cincinnati. It cost the city to train these students at home, after deducting endowments and the tuition of outsiders, only about \$130,000, while it was estimated that to send these Cincinnati young men and women away to college would have cost \$547,000. Furthermore, the university ascertained that at least 75 per cent. of these students had not the means to pay their way in any other college.



THIS DIAGRAM WAS USED TO ILLUSTRATE THE SYSTEM OF COÖPERATION BETWEEN THE ENGINEERING COLLEGE AND INDUSTRIAL PLANTS IN AND AROUND CINCINNATI

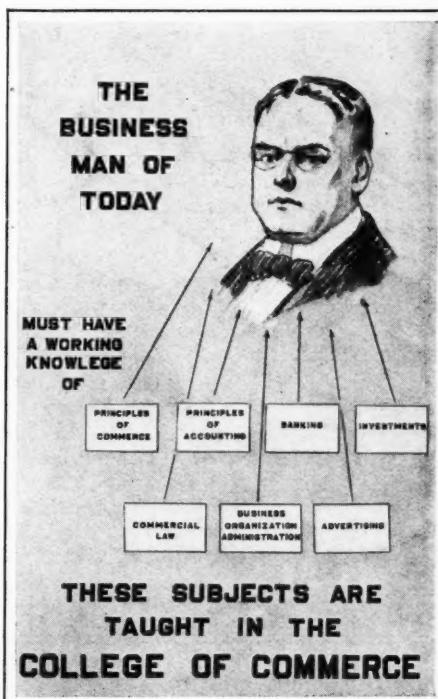
The families of only 5.4 per cent. had incomes of \$7500 or more; 18 per cent., incomes between \$2500 and \$7500; 40 per cent., between \$1500 and \$2500, while 25 per cent. of the families had incomes of less than \$1500. Sixty-seven per cent. of all the male

students of the university work during vacation, and 59 per cent. work during the college session. A large map of Cincinnati with pins



A GOOD SHOWING FOR TECHNICAL TRAINING

(Facts regarding ages and earnings were collected for these three large groups of young men—unskilled, shop-trained, and school or college-trained, and their courses followed for sixteen years. The unskilled fellow reached his top rung at twenty-three, the shop-trained man his at twenty-six years, while at thirty-two years the school-trained man was still climbing)



A PLACARD EMPLOYED TO SET FORTH THE ADVANTAGES OF COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

(The College of Commerce is said to be the only agency maintained by the City of Cincinnati for the helping of young clerks, stenographers, and bookkeepers)

stuck at the homes of resident students showed 900 pins scattered all over the city, with the greatest number in those districts where families of modest means have their homes. This record of student self-support is unusual for a university.

The growth of the university during the past ten years was graphically represented on other charts. It was shown that during the decade the institution had developed from a college of moderate size into a university with nearly 2000 students. The number of separate courses of study had increased from 250 to 377, the number of instructors from 48 to 76, and the income had increased 95 per cent. The cost of instruction per student, now that there are four students per thousand of population, is less than \$100, whereas in the early days, when there were fewer students in proportion to the city's population, the cost to the city was nearly twice that sum.

### MANY STUDENTS SUPPORT THEMSELVES WHOLLY OR IN PART WHILE ATTENDING THE UNIVERSITY

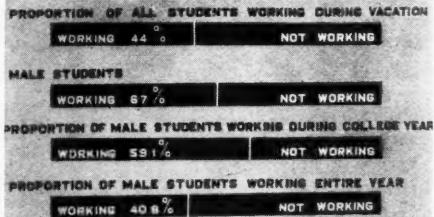
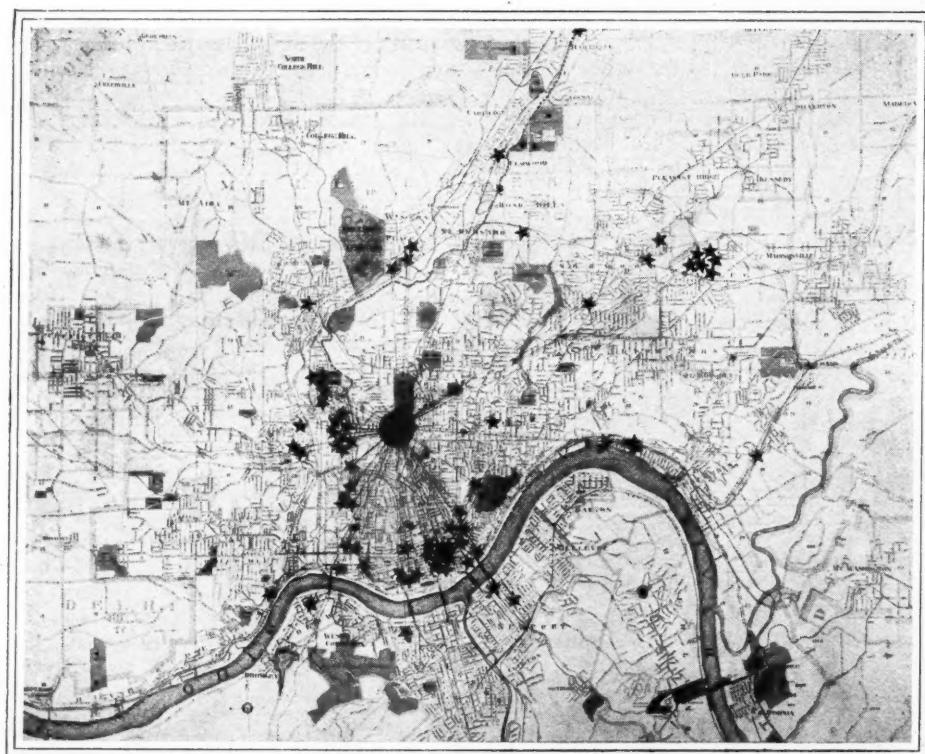


CHART SHOWING A REMARKABLE RECORD OF STUDENT SELF-SUPPORT



MANUFACTURING PLANTS AFFILIATED WITH THE COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING  
(Each star represents a plant where co-operative engineering students are employed)

# CANADA'S PLANS FOR A NAVY

BY P. T. McGRATH

THE Canadian Parliament met on November 21, 1912, for the express purpose of deciding upon a naval policy; and, interesting and important as this problem is to the Canadian people, it is almost of equal interest and importance to the people of the United States, because it introduces a new, and what must inevitably prove a disturbing, factor with reference to the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine in the future.

During recent years citizens of the British Empire, in the motherland and overseas, have had to consider seriously the question of naval defense, compelled thereto by the growing armaments of European powers and the menace to the world's peace which Germany in the Atlantic and Japan in the Pacific are considered by many to represent. At successive gatherings of the British cabinet and the oversea premiers, the subject was debated and finally a Defense Conference was convened at London in 1909, to formulate plans for protecting the self-governing dominions.

## A NAVAL POLICY UPHELD BY ALL PARTIES

When the invitation to Sir Wilfrid Laurier to attend this conference was tabled in the Dominion Parliament, the question of Canada's share in the naval defense of the empire was fully discussed, and this resolution was unanimously adopted, all parties agreeing to it in its amended form after the language of the original draft had been modified by suggestions from various quarters:

(1) The duty of the people of Canada to assume in larger measure the responsibility of national defense is fully recognized;

(2) Under the existing constitutional relations between the mother country and the autonomous dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the imperial treasury for naval and military purposes will not, so far as Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of defense;

(3) Cordial approval is pledged to any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with and close relation to the imperial navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty, and in full supremacy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the Empire, and the peace of the world, and

(4) The firm conviction is expressed that whenever the need arises the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice required to give to the imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement in the maintenance of the integrity and the honor of the Empire.

## POLICIES OF OTHER BRITISH DOMINIONS

Resolutions equally loyal were adopted by Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and at the Defense Conference the Admiralty experts represented that the really vital issue was the defense of the Pacific Ocean, and that, since the Mother Country had undertaken the protection of Canada's Atlantic seaboard, the Dominions should unitedly create a Pacific fleet of four battleship-cruisers of the *Indomitable* type, twelve smaller cruisers of the *Bristol* type, twenty-four destroyers, and twelve submarines, each Dominion providing a unit—one battleship-cruiser, three smaller cruisers, six destroyers, and three submarines. Australia accepted this proposal and began at once the creation of her fleet unit. New Zealand presented a battleship to the Imperial Navy, while taking time to consider further action, and has lately formulated military and naval defense policies including provision for compulsory service, and the addition of three destroyers to her naval quota. South Africa, being in the throes of creating a union out of the four Provinces—"Capeland," Natal, "Orangea," and Transvaal,—could do nothing, and Canada decided upon a somewhat different scheme from a "fleet unit."

How these undertakings have been partly translated into actualities may next be stated. New Zealand has her battleship and three destroyers in active service with the British fleet. Australia has afloat and in commission three destroyers; under construction in Britain, a battle-cruiser, two *Bristols*, and three submarines; and under construction in her home ports, another *Bristol* and three destroyers. Moreover, in 1910, this Dominion, stimulated to special activity by the fear of Japan, a fear which caused the Australians to give the American battleship fleet, in its voyage round the world, the greatest welcome it got anywhere,

resolved upon much larger naval schemes, embracing eight *Dreadnought* cruisers, ten protected cruisers, eighteen destroyers, and twelve submarines, the whole to cost \$115,000,000, spread over twenty-two years; the outlay rising annually from \$7,500,000 in 1912 to \$25,000,000 in 1932-33, with the annual cost of maintenance increasing proportionately, the basis being that an annual Australian naval vote of \$25,000,000 is relatively equal, on the present population basis, to a British naval budget of \$225,000,000. The creation of a naval force of 15,000 men, and the fortifying of ports on the east and west coasts are also included.

#### WHY CANADA LAGGED BEHIND

Canada, though the most populous, wealthy, and vulnerable of the Dominions, did little to fulfil her promises—so little, indeed, that she has been frequently twitted for boasting so much and doing so little. In justice to her though, it should be stated that her apparent failure is not due to any lack of loyalty on the part of her people. Canadians proved their devotion to the British flag on the blood-stained African veldt in the most critical stages of the Boer War. Why she has lagged behind in naval matters is due to other causes, partly to the problem of the French-Canadians. An element in Quebec province is anti-navyite; and it has been said, perhaps truly, that no public man but Laurier could have got a naval service measure on the statute-book with as little trouble as attended its enactment. It provided, not for a naval unit like Australia's, but for two *Bristols* and six destroyers for the Atlantic, and for the Pacific two *Bristols* alone, with the requisite subsidiary essentials—docks, arsenals, barracks, etc.

The ships were to be built in Canada, if possible; and the 2000 officers and men required were to be trained there. A naval college for midshipmen was established at Halifax; and two "disclassed" cruisers of the British Navy were purchased for training ships—the *Niobe* for the Atlantic and the *Rainbow* for the Pacific. But up to the time of the defeat of the Laurier Ministry (September 21, 1911), no contracts had been awarded for the building of Canada's *Bristols* or destroyers, and as, under the proposals submitted to tenderers for the work, they need not all be completed till 1917, the Borden Government, after assuming office and studying the situation, decided to confer again with the Admiralty as to the whole

naval project and base its policy on the conclusions reached then. Accordingly, Premier Borden and some of his colleagues visited London last summer, discussed this subject very fully with the imperial authorities, and after his return to Canada in September, the Premier, at a banquet in Montreal, announced that Parliament would be convened in November, to consider proposals in regard to the Navy.

#### PREMIER BORDEN CONSULTS THE MOTHER COUNTRY

When Premier Borden and his colleagues were in England, it was suggested that Premier Asquith and Naval Secretary Churchill should return to Canada with them, or follow after them on a British battleship, to discuss this issue more fully with the Dominion Cabinet at Ottawa. It was thought in some quarters that this would create a wave of enthusiasm throughout Canada which would greatly assist in the adoption of an adequate naval policy. Mr. Asquith, however, stated at once that it would be impossible for him to make this visit and there is reason to think that though Mr. Churchill may at first have favored the idea, he soon realized such a course was susceptible of the construction that he was unduly interfering in the affairs of the Dominion, for some Liberal newspapers in Canada protested very vigorously against the idea of his being brought across under such circumstances. Probably, also, Mr. Churchill was given to understand that his visit would further complicate the problem so far as Quebec is concerned. In that province, as a result of the Laurier naval project, a Liberal was defeated by an anti-navyite in a by-election in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's home district,—Drummond, Arthabasca,—in November, 1910, and there is no doubt that the "Nationalists," as the Quebec anti-navyites are known, did much to overthrow the Liberal party in that province in the general election of September, 1911, as a result of Mr. Borden's decision in regard to the naval proposals at the present session of the Dominion Parliament, we know that only a few weeks ago Mr. Monk, his Minister of Public Works, resigned, having previously pledged himself to a referendum on this question.

#### THE DOMINION'S PART IN IMPERIAL DEFENSE

Canada's ground for an immediate contribution of *Dreadnoughts* or other substantial aid to the motherland is that a "grave

naval emergency" exists, and it is important to remember that under the latest dispensations the British fleet is destined for offense and not for defense, since a fleet capable of meeting and crushing a hostile naval force is the best defense that any coast can have. Hence, in the "Memorandum on Sea Power" prepared by the British Admiralty for the Colonial Conference of 1902, it was emphasized that the word "defense" did not appear; it being explained that "it is omitted because the primary object of the British Navy is not to defend anything, but to attack the fleets of the enemy, and by defeating them, to afford protection to British Dominions, shipping, and commerce."

Secretary Churchill, in a speech on naval matters in Parliament on March 18, last, declared that "it is necessary for us to have a sufficient (battleship) margin to be able to meet, at our average moment, the naval force of any attacking power at its selected moment"; and, aided, doubtless, by the experts of the Admiralty, calculated that to arrive at Britain's strength at the average moment, 25 to 30 per cent. should be subtracted from her available fighting force; and as Britain has some fifty-nine battleships and battleship-cruisers, 25 per cent. subtracted from that, or, say fifteen ships, would leave her strength at the average moment at forty-four such ships against Germany's thirty-five; but in order to secure this margin of nine, the Mediterranean had to be robbed of the whole fleet formerly located there, so that if these nine war craft had been left in the Mediterranean, Britain would have only the same number of fighting ships in the North Sea as Germany has.

Accepting, then, the principle embodied in these quotations, it is obvious that an "emergency" does exist which warrants special

action by Canada, to increase Britain's naval strength and enlarge her margin of security. Facts proving the gravity of the "menace" that besets Britain, are the imminence of war all the time of the Agadir affair last year, the public warning to Germany by Lloyd-George at a Mansion House luncheon in London then, the pledge, by Bonar Law for the Unionists and Ramsay Macdonald for the Laborites of their unequivocal support in any measures necessary in the Empire's interest; the presentation to the British Parliament of two sets of naval estimates in the past year, the second avowedly to offset the latest German naval program and frankly stated by Winston Churchill to be so; and, finally, the withdrawal of the British battleships from the Mediterranean and the leaving of the policing of the route to the East to France as a friend and ally.

#### THE BORDEN NAVAL POLICY

These facts put it beyond question that Premier Borden's proposals for an emergency contribution will be accepted by the Canadian Parliament, probably without

much objection by the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, because already resolutions have been adopted in some Canadian cities advocating a Round Table Conference between the parties and for taking the navy issue out of politics. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has recently reaffirmed his attitude and that of his party thus:

In the meantime, and while we continue to wait and wait, and wait, we stand where we have stood right along. Our policy is a Canadian navy, built in Canada, equipped in Canada, manned in Canada, under the control of the Canadian Parliament, and the Canadian people, and ready, if Britain should ever be in danger—I will not say that—if Britain should ever be on trial—to do its part, a worthy part, as a loyal daughter of the Old Motherland.

The Borden navy policy as summarized from the address of the Canadian Premier,



HON. JAMES H. HAZEN, CANADIAN MINISTER OF MARINE AND FISHERIES

(Mr. Hazen will have charge of carrying out the naval policy of the Dominion)

made to the Ottawa House of Commons, on December 5, is as follows:

Canada is to make a contribution of three *Dreadnoughts* to cost thirty-five million dollars and to be the most powerful warships in the world.

The ships are to be built in the United Kingdom under the supervision of the admiralty and will become part of the battle line of the British navy.

They will bear distinctive Canadian names.

These ships are to be under the control and upkeep of the British admiralty, but may be returned to Canada at some future time if the nucleus of a Canadian navy is decided upon.

The ships are not to be built in Canada for lack of facilities, and in view of an extra cost of probably twelve million dollars.

The admiralty is ready, however, to order for construction in Canada a number of smaller ships, and in this way the Canadian shipbuilding industry will be fostered, the Canadian government giving a measure of assistance.

Mr. Borden announced that the British government was willing to welcome a Canadian minister to the deliberations of the Imperial Defense Committee.

How these propositions are to be reconciled it will be for the Canadian Parliament, and perhaps for the Canadian people, to determine in the near future.

Apart altogether, though, from the larger issue of a naval policy, are subsidiary issues equally contentious as to ships, men, and maintenance. To build a *Dreadnought*, even in England, with workmen and equipment unexcelled, takes two and a quarter years and costs over \$11,000,000. To build warships in Canada will require the establishment of dockyards; the installation of machinery; the training of workers, and it is inevitable that the cost in all these respects will be much greater than in the Mother Country. Then as to the location of such dockyards, Montreal, Quebec, Sydney, Halifax, and St. John may be regarded as competitors, though the first two are inaccessible for five months of the year, because of the ice blockades, and Sydney for perhaps three months, while Halifax enjoys the advantage of being fortified and St. John boasts of vast new harbor works now being created there.

#### THE QUESTION OF SEAMEN

In manning the ships, difficulty will be felt. So far Canada has been able to enlist not more than 350 blue jackets. Her people do not take kindly to disciplinary pursuits. The latest report of the Northwest Mounted Police shows that 85 per cent. of that force are composed of Britishers. The Admiralty fourteen years ago, when organizing naval reserves in the Oversea Dominions, declined to locate one on the Canadian seaboard

because of poor "raw material," the high rate of wages that would have to be paid, and the virtual certainty that as men were trained they would drift into the American Navy, though such a force was organized in Newfoundland and is now in operation with a training ship at St. John's through which hundreds of young fishermen have passed. Not the least difficulty affecting this whole question for Canada is that of manning new ships. Even in England to-day it is one of the most serious problems before the Admiralty.

As to maintenance in the Dominion, many criticize the wisdom of trying to operate a naval arm as a part of the Canadian Civil Service. They predict graft and incompetence and cite the case of the *Niobe*, the training ship for the Atlantic, which was ordered to Yarmouth (N. S.) more than a year ago to join in some local celebration, because interested parties had sufficient political influence to do this, despite the protests of the ship's officers and the naval Bureau at Ottawa, with the result that her anchors dragged, she went aground, tore out her bottom and has been the past twelve months in Halifax undergoing repairs which will cost over \$200,000. These critics favor Canadian battleships being built in British shipyards under Admiralty direction to secure uniformity and efficiency; and to be stationed, when completed, where the Admiralty judges they are most needed; while Canadian recruits are to have preference on Canadian battleships, which ships are to bear Canadian names and be distinctively Canadian and to be over and above the margin of security required for the British Navy.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A CANADIAN NAVY TO AMERICANS

Finally, this question of Canada's navy has its interest for the United States, because while heretofore Canada may be said to have relied for her defense by land on the Monroe Doctrine and by sea on the British fleet, in the event of any war between Britain and another power after this naval project is launched, Canada will not be immune from the danger of invasion and therefore the whole question of the efficiency of the Monroe Doctrine will at once arise. Any such power at war with Britain will claim, and with justice, the right to ravage Canada's coasts, and otherwise visit upon her the penalties that attach to such a condition, and what bearing such will have on the Monroe Doctrine is a question that may before many years actively confront the United States.



A BOLIVIAN RAILROAD

## THE LIBERATION OF BOLIVIA

How Railroads Are Opening Up the Hermit Nation  
of the Western Hemisphere

BY HARRIET CHALMERS ADAMS AND FRANKLIN ADAMS

**A**NTICIPATING the opening of the Panama Canal, Bolivia, America's storehouse of mineral wealth, is busily engaged in spiking rails.

Bolivia was long the hermit republic. Years ago she lost her seaports and, perched on the roof of the Western World, her metropolis, La Paz, was remote and inaccessible.

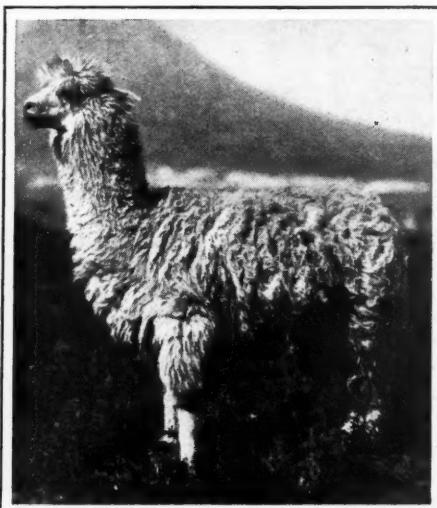
Highland La Paz has recently been connected with the Pacific seaboard by a third rail route. A fourth will join the Bolivian roads with the giant railway system of Argentina. Two lines will link the Andean uplands with the navigable waterways tributary to the Amazon. Two more will unite the rich eastern agricultural lands and the La Plata river highway. On every side the pent resources of this mighty landlocked republic will find an outlet. The commercial liberation of Bolivia is assured.

All this has not been accomplished without sacrifice. The republic long enjoyed the distinction of being "a country without a debt." It long refused proffered aid to retain this enviable position. At last, however, conscious of the brilliant future promised by the development of its great natural riches, awaiting that vital essential, transportation, the offers became irresistible and external debts were assumed.

### A LAND OF VARIED ALTITUDES

This fifth largest country in the New World lies wholly within the tropics, yet altitude, rather than latitude, determines climatic conditions. From the lofty plateau on the west marked by the highest peaks of the Andean range, the republic's vast domain terraces down through smiling temperate valleys to the dense tropic jungle of the Amazonian plain. No greater contrast on earth can be pictured than that of the Titicaca basin and the Eastern frontier. The one, treeless, windswept, encircled by the mightiest mountains of the Americas; the other, a sea of tangled verdure in the heart of the world's greatest wilderness. In a land so varied the products naturally cover a wide range. Precious metals, wrested from the Titanic strongholds of the Andes, rival Nature's most lavish forest gifts.

It was in the bleak mining region, two and a half miles above sea level, that the Spaniards first settled after the conquest and it is here that the greater portion of the population is found to-day. Two-thirds of the country lies in the lowlands, yet 88 per cent. of the people live on the plateau. Man is rooted to his native soil. The life of the Bolivian highlander is as dreary as his en-



ALPACA, A DOMESTICATED COUSIN OF THE LLAMA

(Much of the alpaca wool which comes out of Bolivia is credited to Peru, because it is shipped from the Peruvian port of Mollendo. The Andean Indian sells the alpaca wool to the middleman for next to nothing. It is again resold to the agent of the foreign house which ships it to the markets of the world. The alpaca is of many colors,—white, black, brown, tan, etc.)

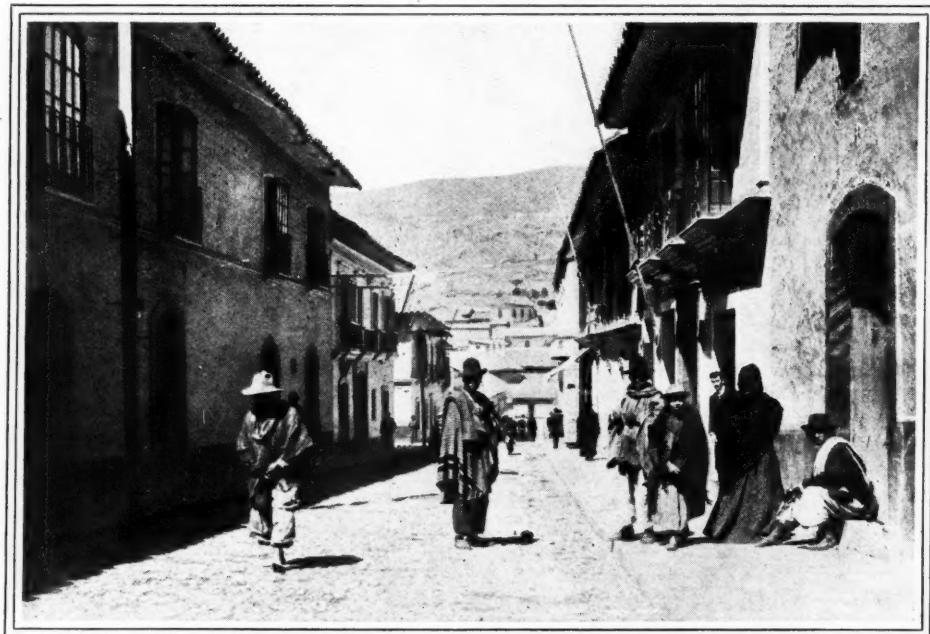
vironment, yet he can not often be tempted down into the garden places just over the Andean wall.

## LA PAZ, A PICTURESQUE CAPITAL

La Paz, the capital, has a less trying climate than the other upland cities. Although 12,500 feet above sea level, it lies on the floor of a narrow cañon sheltered from the icy blasts which sweep over the bleak *Puna* above. "Kaleidoscopic La Paz" we have called it,—the most picturesque city of the Western Hemisphere,—its low red-roofed buildings huddled between massive frowning walls. Above tower the Andean sentinels dominated by the snow-clad Illimani, "The White Lady," faithful guardian of this City of the Clouds. Below, in the steep lanes of streets, the multi-tinted gowns of the coquettish *Cholas* and the comic-opera costumes of the coppery *Aymarás* give color to scenes of great charm and diversity. The modishly dressed men and women of the Bolivian upper class form the minority and seem strangers in this bizarre picture.

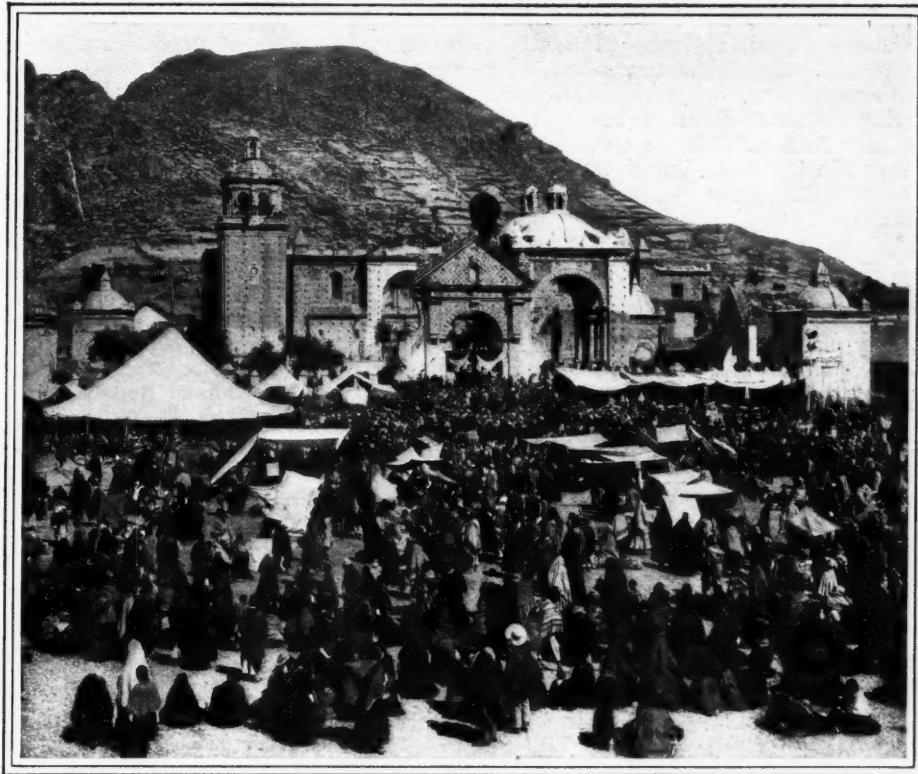
## RAIL ROUTES TO THE PACIFIC

The day is here when Progress, that buccaneer of the picturesque, will rob La Paz of her captivating individuality developed during the years when she lay far removed from the world's busy marts. Overland travel by mule trail to the coast then occupied



STREET IN LA PAZ

(The overhanging balconies and projecting tiled roofs are a distinctive feature. The woman on the right wears the manto. Next her is a Chola girl. The men wear the poncho, the blanket characteristic of the costume of every Andean Indian)



THE SHRINE OF COPACABANA

(This famous shrine, sacred to the highland Indian long before the coming of the Spaniards, is situated on the Peninsula of Copacabana on the Bolivian shore of Lake Titicaca. The yearly pilgrimage brings thousands of Indians from far-distant homes to worship at the shrine of "Our Lady of Copacabana.")

many tedious weeks. The opening of the Arica-La Paz Railway, in September, 1912, brings the Bolivian metropolis within fourteen hours of a Pacific port.

The early mule paths and cart roads have become the railway routes to the coast. They follow the natural descents from mountain height to sea level,—trails which were used by the Incan peoples centuries before white men set foot in the land. When Bolivia at last expressed a willingness for foreign capital to develop her territory by driving steel transportation spokes into the hub at La Paz, the great engineering nations "got busy." They fully appreciated the opportunity of securing national guaranteed interest on their investments; also the resulting trade advantage in supplying new necessities to freshly world-touched communities. They entered the field with a vim, characteristic of a dash for the South Pole; but their preliminary surveys demonstrated it to be a mountain climbing contest!

#### A THIRTY-INCH GAUGE

The first line to reach Bolivian soil was from the Chilean port of Antofagasta far to the south of La Paz. This road, with a gauge of but *thirty inches*, was originally constructed for hauling ore cars from the nearby nitrate beds to the coast. Gradually extended, as new nitrate deposits were located, it finally strayed, rather accidentally, into Bolivian territory. Realizing, suddenly, the advantage of a connection with La Paz, too late to change its gauge, this little toy track was strung along to Oruro within striking distance of the capital. The traffic increase was enormous, resulting in an earnest bid for passenger service and the final equipment of the line with modern sleeping and dining cars. This is probably the narrowest *train de luxe* in the world.

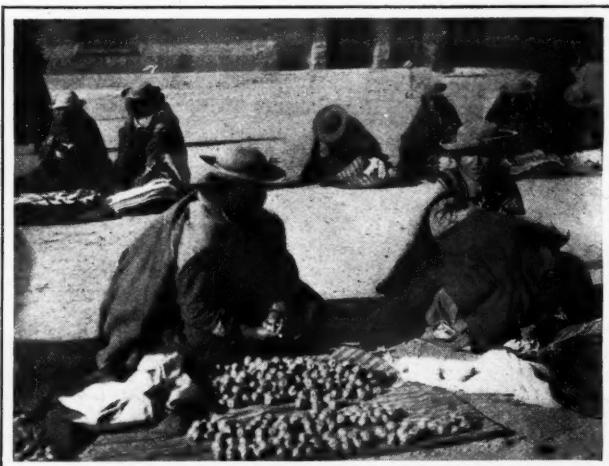
La Paz is only 200 miles from the sea as the bird flies, but the Antofagasta line climbs over 574 miles of desert and plateau before

reaching Oruro where it connects with a broad-gauge road, 146 miles in length, to the capital. The through semi-weekly service occupies about forty-eight hours. After leaving the nitrate fields, the scenery is majestically Andean. We are up in Nature's attic. The Collahuasi branch from Ollagüe is the highest railroad on earth, reaching an altitude of 15,809 feet.

#### A NATIONAL ENTERPRISE

The first national railway built in the country united Guaqui, a port on Lake Titicaca, with La Paz. An English company had constructed a line from the Pacific port of Mollendo up to the Peruvian shore of Titicaca. Bolivian passengers, after a two-

travel-worn passenger was brought only in sight of La Paz,—to the little station on the bluff overlooking the city. Feverish desire for full utilization of modern comfort was now strong in the Bolivian breast. A line connecting the plateau station and cañon floor was a necessity. Engineers declared the service too intermittent to justify electrical operation and suggested steam as the more economical method. But nothing short of electricity would satisfy the progressive spirit. Engines, doomed to low efficiency at this altitude, at last perched proudly on the "Alto," propelled by gas made from enormously expensive Australian coal. American trolleys, operated by current from American generators, trailed up and down the gorge route side by side with the prehistoric carriers, the llamas. Throbbing modernity and remote antiquity met on the highroad in Bolivia.



THE POTATO ON ITS NATIVE HEATH—THE ANDEAN HIGHLANDS

days' rail journey through Peru, had another day and night on the steamer before reaching their side of the lake. Landed at last on their own territory, sixty miles of saddle or stage travel still lay between the lake port and La Paz. This long ride over the frozen *Puna* was the last straw!

Why not have a comfortable "home-stretch?" Surely the level tableland offered no engineering difficulties! Foreign railroad constructors were invited to submit bids.

"One and a half million dollars!"—the lowest proposition.

"Too high," said Bolivia, "I'll build the road myself!"

It took three years to find the national funds and construct the line, but the cost was only one-third of the foreign bid! Now the republic had a railway of her own, yet the

pensation for the loss of her seaboard, it was Chilean capital which gave the Arica-La Paz Railway to Bolivia.

This direct Pacific connection which brings La Paz within fourteen hours of the coast necessitates the use of twenty-eight miles of cog system, reaching an altitude of 14,000 feet. The 267 miles of track cost \$45,000 a mile. A unique method has been devised by the company for overcoming the effect of quick ascent on weak hearts. Compartments supplied with air containing the sea-level amount of oxygen are provided. It only remains for the clever Yankee to invent an oxygen-smelling-bottle for the man who gets off up in Skyland. While the new line will undoubtedly be popular for passenger service, engineers maintain that the excessively steep grades will make freight trans-

#### THE ARICA-LA PAZ RAILWAY

South America is no longer "Manaña Land." The "Time is Money" sign has reached the country. Begrudging the thirty to fifty hours spent in traveling to the Pacific, Bolivia now cast an eye on the safe harbor of Arica, only 260 miles from La Paz. When Chile acquired Bolivia's coast line as a war indemnity, she also held the Peruvian Province of Tacna in which Arica lies. And, in partial com-

portation more expensive than on the two other West Coast routes, notwithstanding their greater length.

#### THE TIN MINES OF POTOSI

From Rio Mulato (a station on the Antofagasta-Oruro line) a railroad sixty-seven miles in length has recently been opened to Potosi. Potosi! How little this name means to you of the Twentieth Century! Yet three hundred years ago it was a word to conjure with! "The richest city in the world," it was called—the magic aerial Mecca over-seas. In those romantic days of early Spanish dominion, Bolivia was famed for her silver. Her pedestal still is of silvery hue; but to-day it is made of tin!

Potosi, the silver province, has become the center of the republic's chief export. Tin valued at \$16,000,000, was shipped out of the country last year. The Straits Settlements alone outclass Bolivia's production. Of the so-called "common" metals, it is the least widely distributed and one of the most costly. The tin deposits are in the Cordillera provinces, high up in the Royal Range. We know a number of mines at an altitude of



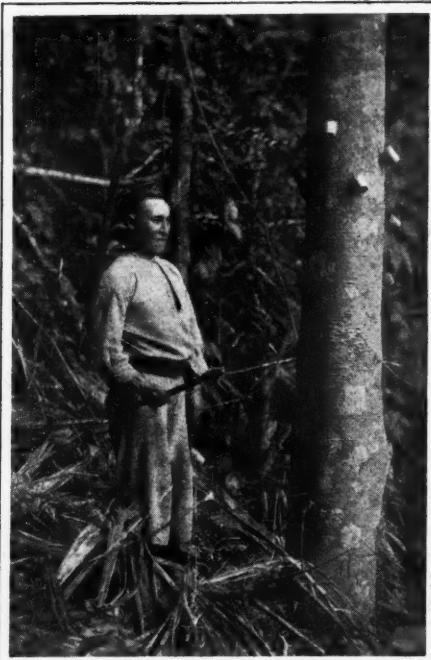
PRESIDENT VILLAZON, OF THE BOLIVIAN REPUBLIC

over 17,000 feet. The more important are equipped with modern plants. Like gold, tin is taken both from rock vein and alluvial



BOLIVIAN INFANTRY MARCHING IN HILLY LA PAZ

(The soldiers wear the French uniform, with baggy trousers. Many of them are sturdy *Cholas* of mixed Indian and Spanish blood)



RUBBER PICKER, HEADWATERS OF THE AMAZON

(In the early morning, the rubber gatherer makes his way over the forest trail, gashing each rubber tree and placing a little cup under each gash. In the evening, he makes a second round and collects the milk from each cup, returning with it to the camp where it is smoked over a fire of palmetto nuts in a most primitive way. Most of the rubber which comes out of South America is made in this prehistoric fashion,—prehistoric, because the Indian used rubber balls for play long before the coming of the Europeans)

deposit; but, unlike gold, it occurs in a compound, the richest grade ore containing 70 per cent. of pure tin.

#### SILVER AND COPPER

While this gleaming metal forms the backbone of Bolivia's export, supplying, at its present high price, almost two-thirds of the entire output, there is strong indication that silver may again be King. The Spanish crown coined over \$1,000,000,000 worth of silver extracted from the famous "Cerro" of Potosi, but after 1873, when depreciation began, the production rapidly declined. A fall in transportation rates will hasten the revival and this year's discovery of four exceptionally rich silver mines near Oruro will add to the momentum.

The highlands are also rich in bismuth and copper. One of the greatest copper areas in the world, not excepting our Lake Superior section, is tapped by the new Arica-La Paz

line. Last year this Coro-Coro District sent \$800,000 worth of copper ingots down to the sea by mule-cart and the new era should show startling figures. It has long been known that the earth's richest sulphur deposit is at Tacora, also liberated by the Arica route. The Italian product, which has held the trade, now has a serious rival.

#### LINKED WITH ARGENTINA BY RAIL

Work is under way on the 150-mile gap between Uyani, a station on the Antofagasta-Oruro line, and Tupiza, a town fifty-five miles from the Argentine frontier. Eventually this



ANCIENT MONUMENT IN TIAHUANACO, THE OLDEST CITY IN THE NEW WORLD

(The Indian, standing in the shadow of the totem erected by his ancestors in the shadowy past, is an Aymara. His forefathers were subjugated by the Incas of Peru. The Aymaras are familiar with many legends regarding these ruins, but they are very reticent with strangers)



"FOREIGN" GERMAN AND AMERICAN MINERS IN THE FOREST COUNTRY OF BOLIVIA  
(Each year the foreigners are coming in greater numbers to prospect in the forest. Many mines, worked long ago under the Spanish régime, will again be re-opened)



A "GRINGO" OR FOREIGN MINING ENGINEER IN THE FOREST COUNTRY OF BOLIVIA  
(The mining machinery shown in the picture has been brought into the virgin wilderness over a most difficult trail. The way led across the bleak highlands through the Andean Pass, 17,000 feet above the sea; then by a cliff trail clinging above the precipice and a newly beaten path through the primeval forest)

road will continue on to La Quiaca, the northern railhead of the Argentine system, thus completing an important section of the Pan-American Railway. Bolivia's minerals will then have a La Plata outlet, while Argentina's foodstuffs will gain access to a non-agricultural region.

#### THE RIVER HIGHWAYS OF THE EASTERN SLOPE

The three Pacific Coast railways are, as we have seen, the natural highways westward from the plateau, and the Uyani-Tupiza line will serve the southern provinces. But what of the vast forest lands on the eastern slope of the Andes? Here every stream rushes down to the Amazon and on these perilous flowing trails, rather than through the impenetrable thicket, goods are transported out from Bolivia and in from Brazil.

Chief among these rivers are the Mamoré and the Beni which unite to form the Madeira. Two projected railways,—the Cochabamba-Chimoré and the La Paz-Puerto Pando,—are to connect the plateau and temperate eastern valleys with these great river highways. The Chimoré River once reached, there is easy sailing for 600 miles to Villa Church on the Mamoré, terminus of the now famous railway which parallels nineteen

dangerous falls obstructing navigation. With this valuable "lift," passenger and cargo are again free to float 1800 miles to Para and out on the broad Atlantic.

#### RAILROAD-BUILDING IN THE JUNGLE

The building of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway is one of the greatest of modern achievements, second, perhaps, to the opening of the Panama Canal. Though only 217 miles in length, its situation in the very heart of the world's greatest jungle offered difficulties which, for forty years, proved insurmountable. Back in 1871 an attempt was made to construct the line, but in less than two years the forest, with its army of tropical diseases, proved the victor. A second attempt, six years later, succeeded only in the completion of the survey and the building of four miles of road, with terrific loss of life. In 1907 an American firm of contractors, fortified by the experience of applied hygiene obtained at Panama, undertook the task. Modern science and engineering skill now overcame all obstacles and this month sees the official opening of the famous "jungle route." Will the road be worth the price paid in lives and gold? Just listen!

Before the railway era, the 200-mile fall



BALSA ON LAKE TITICACA

(Such a boat as this was used in prehistoric days. The balsa is built of the reeds which line the shore of the lake. Bundles of the reeds are tied together, the life of the boat being six months, when it becomes water-soaked and must be abandoned. Although there are severe storms on the lake, the Indians sail in this rickety little craft from one end of the great lake to the other, and one seldom hears of an accident)



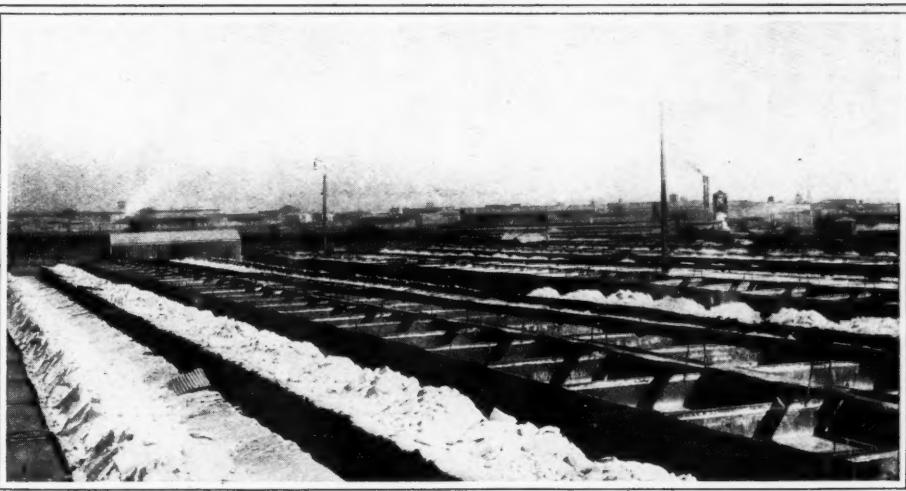
THE HIGHROAD THROUGH THE PRIMEVAL WILDERNESS CARVED FOR THE ONCOMING  
OF THE RAILROAD

(Nature resents man's intrusion into this, her domain, and the creeping vines must constantly be cut away)

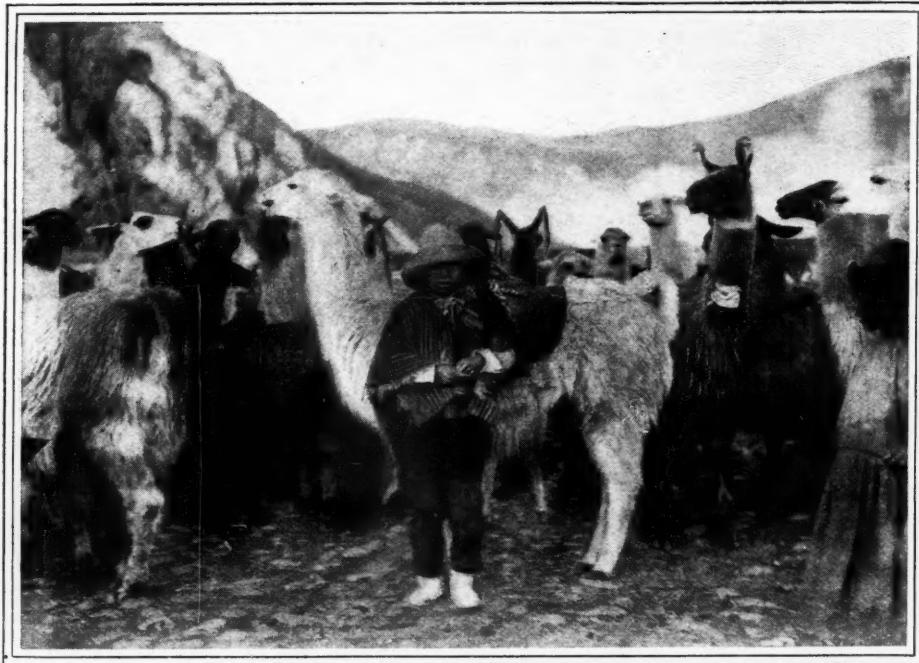
barrier necessitated a long portage for laden canoes. In high water the boatmen attempted to shoot the rapids without unloading, and this meant a loss of fully 25 per cent. in lives and cargo. A branch railway is under way from Villa Church on the Mamoré to Riberalta on the Beni, from which point there is free navigation to Puerto Pando, terminus of the projected La Paz-Puerto

Pando line. The up-river trip around the falls to Riberalta formerly required from thirty to sixty days, according to the season. By rail it will be made in twelve hours.

The core of South America is tapped. The way is opened for the settlement of millions of productive acres, suitable for the cultivation of cacao, coffee, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. The chief product now released is



THE NITRATE INDUSTRY—NITRATE VATS IN ANTOFAGASTA (THE PORT OF BOLIVIA)



LLAMA DRIVERS AND TRAIN

(Children often drive the llamas on the trail. The llama leader wears ear-ribbons and a bag on the neck filled with coca leaves)



CHOLAS (OF INDIAN AND SPANISH BLOOD) OF BOLIVIA

(These women are the lesser merchants of La Paz and other Andean towns. Their costume is most picturesque, the distinctive feature being the multi-colored petticoat. As many as thirty of these petticoats have been worn at a time, each of a different hue, new garments over old. The Chola usually wears French shoes with very high heels, but does not wear stockings)

rubber. Even last year, with the difficulties of transportation, this export amounted to over \$10,000,000, ranking second only to tin. Rubber and tin have made Bolivia's multi-millionaires. The Suarez brothers were known as "The Rubber Kings," and Simon Patino, in seven years, has amassed \$60,000,000 from tin.

## THE GOLD OF THE INCAS

The Amazon route opens up the gold fields. The present paucity of the country's gold output has been a matter of comment. Investigations have repeatedly demonstrated that the eastern slope of the Andes forms a gold field of vast area. Many have made the effort to secure the precious metal from Andean torrents, but none have succeeded since the Incas. Nature here calls her mightiest forces to guard the treasure chest. The gold fields are enveloped in dense forests; deluged with rain; reached only after an arduous climb and abrupt descent with every sort



AN AYMARA OF BOLIVIA



## TYPE OF BOLIVIAN BEAUTY

(The women of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Chile still wear the picturesque manto to church and for shopping, although they have donned the Parisian hat for other occasions. The manto, unlike the mantilla of other Spanish countries, is a shawl-like drape which covers the head and shoulders and falls to the knees. It is usually of black silk crêpe, but of coarser texture for the women of the peasantry. The Bolivian women of the upper class are noted for their beauty and grace, their complexion and eyes being especially fine)

of obstacle in the course. The fame of the Tipuani gravel beds lured American miners, and one hundred of them made the difficult pilgrimage this year to meet unique problems—gold buried under shifting sands; bedrock nowhere in sight. Still the problem is not unsolvable. The one practical method of working the ground is by dredging and via the new Atlantic route will come the giant machines with their endless buckets to win the elusive metal.

## THE EASTERN FRONTIER

Far to the south of the Mamoré and the Beni, on the vast plains of eastern Bolivia, is the old town of Santa Cruz, the center of a rich agricultural district. Here lies the great cattle range of the future. Cochabamba, the



AN AYMARA PONGO, OR HOUSE SERVANT  
(The cap and poncho worn by this Indian are woven  
from llama wool)

nearest city of importance, is 350 miles to the west and the natural outlet is not in that direction, but southward to Argentina or eastward to the River Paraguay. Two pro-

jected railways,—the Santa Cruz-Yacuiba and the Santa Cruz-Puerto Suarez,—promise development to this little-known section.

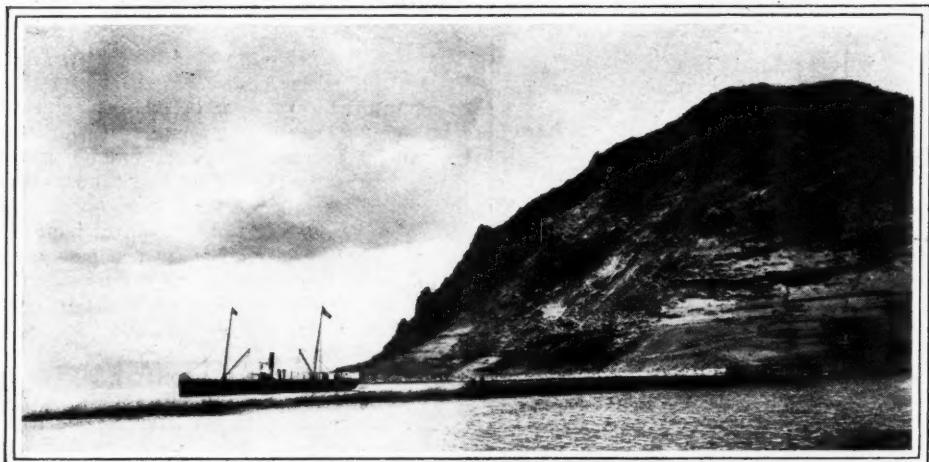
Not long ago we visited this remote eastern frontier. By way of the La Plata, Parana, and Paraguay Rivers we reached Puerto Suarez, terminus of the Santa Cruz trail. Already acquainted with the western and southern plateau and the northern forest lands, we now have a comprehensive view of the republic's vast and varied domain and can prophesy her brilliant future.

#### SOUTH AMERICA'S CENTRAL HIGHWAY

Bolivia has purchased her freedom. The \$30,000,000 she is now spending on railway expansion amounts to \$12 for every man, woman, and child within her territory,—white, mestizo, and Indian. The "Song of the Rails" has become the national anthem and every rail spiked means life. We look forward to the day when the equable eastern lands will be populated. Here, in Nature's vast plantation, never failing crops, rich beyond the reckoning, await the harvest and toward this garden spot of tropical America the tide of emigration must some day shape its course.

The opening of the Panama Canal sounds the bugle call of West Coast development. The first transandine railway will soon have rivals.

The hermit republic of old is destined to become South America's great central highway when her rails link the roads of Peru and Chile with those of Argentina and Brazil.



A SCENE ON LAKE TITICACA

(The ship in the picture is of the line plying between Puno, the Peruvian port of Lake Titicaca, and Guaqui, the Bolivian port)

# STATE INSURANCE IN WISCONSIN

BY BENJ. S. BEECHER

(Assistant Actuary of the Wisconsin Department of Insurance)

PEOPLE in Wisconsin may now buy life insurance from the State. This was brought about through the enactment by the legislature of 1911 of a law establishing a "Life fund to be administered by the State without liability on the part of the State beyond the amount of the fund, for the purpose of granting life insurance and annuities to persons who at the time of the granting of such insurance and annuities are within the State or residents thereof."

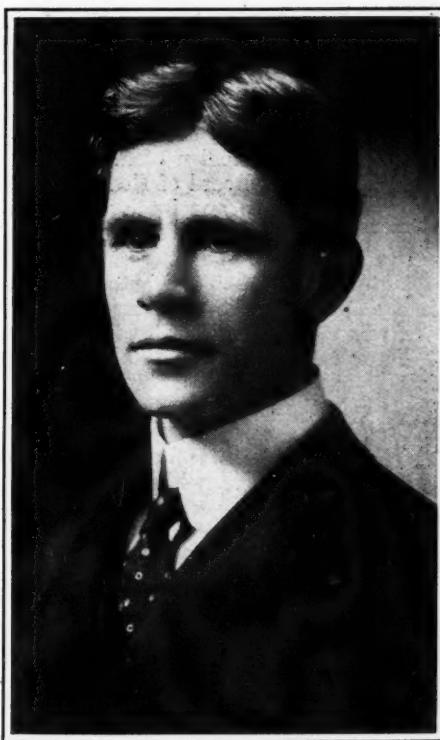
The Commissioner of Insurance was given two years in which to prepare forms, tables, and other data necessary to carry out the act. Such data have been prepared, and the first application was formally received on October 24, 1912.

Insurance may be granted to persons between the ages of twenty and fifty in amounts of \$500 or multiples thereof. Until 1000 policies have been issued, no more than \$1000 shall be granted on any one life and not more than \$3000 at any time. At present five plans of insurance are offered:

(1) Ordinary Life; (2) Twenty-Payment Life; (3) Endowment at Age Sixty-five; (4) Ten-Year Endowment; (5) Term to Age Sixty-five. Other plans, including annuities, will be issued later.

On the Ordinary Life plan a level annual premium is charged until death and at death \$1000 is paid; on the Twenty-Payment Life Plan a level annual premium is charged for twenty years or until prior death, and at death \$1000 is paid; on the Ten-Year Endowment a level premium is charged for ten years or until prior death, and at death or at the end of ten years \$1000 is paid; on the Endowment at Age Sixty-five a level annual premium is charged until age sixty-five is reached or until prior death, and at death or at age sixty-five \$1000 is paid; and on the Term to Age Sixty-five a level annual premium is charged until age sixty-five or until prior death and \$1000 is paid if death occurs before age sixty-five.

These policies represent standard forms issued by legal reserve companies. In fact the State life insurance is nothing more than the taking over of the best insurance practice of the day reduced to its simplest terms



HON. HERMAN L. EKERN

(Wisconsin's Commissioner of Insurance, who has inaugurated a system by which the State insures lives)

and offering it to the people at cost, with a large part of the cost eliminated through the fact that no agents are employed and that there is no "overhead" charge to maintain offices and highly salaried officials.

The establishing of a fund does not mean that the State is appropriating money to conduct an insurance scheme or that premiums of the policyholders are paid by the State, nor is the insurance compulsory on anyone or any class. The fund is composed entirely of the contributions of the policyholders. Life insurance in its simplest form contemplates guaranteed payments of specific amounts to beneficiaries, or, in the case of endowments or surrendered policies, to the insured himself, made possible by premium savings contributed by all the insured within the class.

The State under the present plan merely offers the services of institutions already in existence as a means of receiving and saving these premium payments and paying out the claims as they mature in accordance with the terms of the contracts.

#### EXISTING OFFICES ARE MADE USE OF

The Commissioner of Insurance, with his force of actuarial and clerical assistants, is made the administrator of the plan and the business is conducted through his office. Investments are made by the State Treasurer, who is ex-officio custodian of all funds received. The State Board of Health acts as a Medical Board to appoint local medical examiners in the various communities and to receive and pass upon the reports as to the insurability of the applicant. All State Factory Inspectors, State banks, county, town, village and city clerks and treasurers, are furnished with "literature" and application blanks and are authorized to receive applications and premium payments. Thus only the employment of the necessary additional clerical help falls as an expense upon the policyholder. As for office room, there is ample space in the new Capitol building.

#### THE PLAN INVOLVES THE BEST INSURANCE PRACTICE

There are only two forms of sound life insurance—current-cost insurance and level-premium or legal-reserve insurance. In current-cost insurance the insured pays each year the cost of the deaths for that year proportioned according to the probability of dying at his age. Thus as he grows older he will pay a higher and higher rate. In fact, the rate at the ages beyond fifty or sixty becomes prohibitive. To do away with this, companies have adopted the practice of charging a level premium each year. In the early years the insured pays more than enough to pay for the cost of the insurance for that year. But this overpayment or reserve is kept by the company and credited with interest to the individual. This accumulation of overpayments is used in part to pay the death loss when a man dies and is drawn upon to pay the cost of insurance for those later years in which the cost on his policy exceeds the payment made. It belongs to the policyholder and in the case of the Life Fund it is actually entered on the books each year as a credit to him. It is in the nature of a savings account and may be

borrowed, or upon surrender of the policy, received as a cash payment.

On the endowment forms the reserve is of the same character, only larger, so that upon withdrawal after a stated period the insured gets more than he would in case of withdrawal of the reserve on an ordinary life policy. This form of insurance, with the most liberal features as to withdrawal of the reserve, is embodied in the State plan. In the computation of premium rates the State assumes that deaths will occur according to the American Experience Table of Mortality, which is the standard in use by most of the best companies, and that interest will be earned on investments at the rate of 3 per cent.

The addition for expenses is small, especially in the endowments, which makes this simple means of saving advantageous to the insured. The difference in rates shown by the following comparison between the Life Fund and some of the large mutual companies is due to the difference in the addition for expenses:<sup>1</sup>

Age	ORDINARY LIFE				
	Wisconsin Life Fund	Mutual Benefit	New England Mutual	New York Life	Northwestern Mutual
21	\$18.16	\$18.40	\$18.90	\$19.62	\$18.76
30	21.96	22.85	23.50	24.38	23.31
40	28.92	30.94	31.70	33.01	31.56
50	41.57	45.45	46.60	48.48	46.36
TWENTY-PAYMENT LIFE					
21	27.28	28.25	28.50	29.84	28.73
30	31.07	32.87	33.20	34.76	33.44
40	37.24	40.38	41.00	42.79	41.10
50	47.76	52.87	53.80	56.17	53.86
TEN-YEAR ENDOWMENT					
21	91.27	101.53	100.20	101.78	101.78
30	91.68	102.37	101.20	104.14	103.71
40	92.73	104.18	103.30	108.07	105.62
50	96.08	108.87	108.60	115.28	110.48
ENDOWMENT AT AGE SIXTY-FIVE					
25	22.82	.....	24.60	.....	24.60
30	26.30	28.29	28.80	.....	28.80
40	37.94	42.02	42.60	44.35	42.76
50	65.79	74.43	74.90	79.00	75.66

This table shows that lower addition for expenses applies to a greater extent to the higher ages and to the endowment forms.

#### STATE PLAN ON THE COÖPERATIVE PRINCIPLE

It must be borne in mind, however, that the essential fact in determining the cost of insurance to the individual under a mutual form is not merely the rates that are charged. The contrast that should be drawn in comparing the cost under the Life Fund and

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the *Eastern Underwriter* of October 24, 1912, except for Endowment at Age 65.

under a mutual company is in the amount that each spends, since the plan is coöperative in character and any overcharges are returned to the policyholder in the form of dividends.

That the actual cost to the policyholder is reduced, due to the elimination of expenses of agents and the overhead costs of management, has already been pointed out, and that this reduction is considerable is emphasized by the following figures taken from the reports of companies doing business in Wisconsin during 1910: Out of total disbursements for the year of \$234,803,000, \$69,525,000 went for expenses of management, including agents' expenses, or 43.1 per cent. of what was paid to policyholders for that year. In the case of fraternal societies the percentage on the same basis was 16.1 per cent.

A generation ago Elizur Wright of Massachusetts was impressed with the necessity of eliminating so far as possible the high expense charge falling upon the man who by means of insurance wished to provide for his dependents or for his own old age, and agitated the use of savings banks for this purpose. In 1907 Massachusetts passed an act which provided for the establishment of insurance departments in the savings banks of the State through which mutual insurance may be purchased without agency or overhead charge to the insured. On October 5, 1912, this Savings Bank Life Insurance reported \$2,533,165 of insurance in force with \$27,428 in annuities.

The fundamental justification for State insurance is the same. It represents an attempt on the part of the people to secure for themselves the best insurance at reduced cost by making use of State offices already in existence. This feeling of need for cheaper insurance was of course intensified by the disclosures of the Armstrong Investigating Committee of New York in 1905.

Following the report of this committee two resolutions were passed in the Wisconsin Legislature; one providing for a joint investigation to be carried on similar to what had been done in New York, and one appointing a Senate committee to investigate the matter of State insurance with a view of making recommendations to the next legislature. The resolution appointing the committee to investigate state insurance read as follows:

Whereas, Under the present methods of life insurance astounding business conditions have been disclosed in the management of certain non-resident companies, whereby surplus earnings are used in exploiting through trust companies, stock jobbing ventures; and

Whereas, The reports of three of said companies disclose the following facts:

First: That their combined assets amount to over one billion dollars; second, that within a comparatively short period of years, they have practically doubled the ratio of their expenses to receipts; third, that during a prosperous period they have reduced dividends to less than one-third the percentage formerly disbursed; fourth, that they have accumulated approximately two hundred million dollars in surplus profits; fifth, that the Wisconsin policy-holders of these three companies, pay annually over \$2,500,000 into the treasury of said companies over which they exercise no control; and

Whereas, Governmental life insurance has been found to be absolutely safe, cheap, free from oppressive conditions and coöperative in character.

Resolved, That a committee of three members of the senate be appointed to investigate into the practicability of the successful operation of governmental and state life insurance, and that the result of their investigations in brief form, together with such legislation as they may recommend, be printed for the use of the next legislature.

The words of the resolution suggest the influence of the then recent disclosures upon the movement toward State insurance. The majority of the Senate committee recommended that State insurance be not taken up at that time. Following the report of the joint investigating committee, however, laws were passed regulating the conduct of life-insurance companies doing business in Wisconsin which, though they caused a large number of companies to withdraw from the State, may be said to have resulted entirely to the advantage of the policyholders. Much legislation was passed in New York and other States and in general, following the upheaval of 1905, the abuses disclosed at that time have largely been done away with.

If the only justification for State insurance were the persistence of the evils disclosed in 1905, it is probable the State insurance act would never have passed. However, the feeling of need for insurance of the best sort at low cost which dates back to the time of Elizur Wright compelled the reconsideration of the earlier report of the Senate committee and the passing of the act in 1911.

#### UNLIKE EUROPEAN PLANS

There is no precedent for State insurance in the United States. In 1905 the Florida House of Representatives passed a measure of this kind, but did not come to a vote in the Senate. It was later urged for adoption in a message of Governor Broward but was never acted upon.

European schemes are in general of four main types:

(1) Involving compulsion and contributions of part of the premium by the State.

- (2) Involving a government monopoly.
- (3) Involving active competition by the State with the companies.

(4) Resembling the Wisconsin plan.

The first plan is typified by the English Lloyd-George scheme, where, however, the essential parts of the scheme, are the insurance against sickness, invalidity, and unemployment rather than the ordinary life insurance; and in the German Workmen's Compensation Act.

Italy represents the attempt to secure government monopoly of insurance, and New Zealand, which is the stock example of a state life insurance scheme, enters into active competition to get business. The plans most nearly resembling the Wisconsin scheme are perhaps represented by Canada and Great Britain. In Canada there was established in 1908 a Department of Government Annuities for issuing contracts of this form; and in Great Britain, insurance or annuities may be purchased through the savings banks or post offices, the distinguishing feature of the Wisconsin plan being the absence of compulsion or contribution of money by the State and the refraining from active competition by the use of agents or from attempting to establish a State monopoly.

#### THE STATE PLAN HAS ADVANTAGES

In 1905 Robert M. LaFollette, then Governor, in a message submitted to the legislature said concerning life insurance:

With the exception of the corporations which control the transportation facilities of the commonwealth, there is no class of corporations more in need of careful and economical administration than those which make a business of life insurance. It is the business which gathers the savings of youth and mature manhood, to safe guard old age against poverty; to provide sustenance and shelter and the comforts of home for the widow and orphan.

In view of this intimate dependence of social welfare on the channels for saving as represented by insurance institutions, we may summarize the advantages of the State plan:

(1) It is absolutely sound and is conducted on the same basis as all sound "old-line" life insurance.

(2) It is cheap. The element of profit is done away with entirely. The addition for expenses is small, and the cost of operation which, with the rate of interest earned and the rate of mortality actually experienced, determines the rate of dividends to the policyholder, is the lowest possible. This is brought about through the elimination of

agents' commissions and overhead charges for officials and management.

(3) The policy provisions are liberal. Premiums are payable annually, semi-annually, quarterly, monthly, or weekly, at the option of the insured. In fact, the insured may pay as much and as often as he pleases. In cases where the payments are deferred, the amount is charged as a loan, against the reserve until paid. If payment of premiums ceases entirely, the amount due is periodically charged as a loan as long as the amount so charged with interest to the next policy anniversary does not exceed the reserve at that date. When such loan does exceed the reserve, the policy is cancelled and any portion of the individual's reserve remaining to his credit is returned to him.

In case advance payment of premiums is made the insured is allowed credit at the rate of interest actually earned for any deposit more than one year in advance.

There is absolutely no forfeiture, and if it is desired to surrender the policy the full amount of the reserve is paid.

There is no restriction as to change in occupation or travel.

The insured may borrow to the full extent of his reserve.

(4) The insured is furnished with tables and information completely explaining the disposition of all money paid by him. He is furnished in advance with tables showing the amount charged for expenses, the amount charged as cost of insurance, the interest accumulation, and the individual reserve for every year during the possible history of the contract. Thus everything is done in the open and the insured knows beforehand all the facts concerning his policy, all of which helps to make general the understanding of insurance principles.

(5) It will increase confidence in life insurance and encourage the extension of its protection to every resident of the State and increase the business of sound companies and societies.

(6) The present forms may lead to provision for annuities to protect old age and perhaps to other forms of insurance in some of the fields where more of the foreign governments have entered. The ability of the State to meet a need through the present plan of ordinary life insurance and annuities may determine its extension to the great and ever more pressing fields of sickness, accident, and invalidity insurance and workmen's compensation.

# WILL THE DEMOCRATS REVERSE OUR FOREIGN POLICIES?

BY A VETERAN OBSERVER

[The following article attempts to outline the foreign policy of the United States as interpreted by high Democratic authority. This expression is not, of course, to be taken as an editorial utterance of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.—THE EDITOR.]

**I**NEVITABLY there must be a great change in the foreign policy of the United States as a result of the election which made Woodrow Wilson President and gave the Democracy control of the Senate as well as the House of Representatives. It may be going too far to say that the change will be radical, but it can be little less than that if the new President carries out the ideas which have prevailed in his party and to which he is committed by party platforms and Congressional declarations.

Carried out logically, the accession of the Democratic party to power means that the Philippines should be set free and that we should no longer assume the attitude of the Big Policeman of the American Continent. Expansion and territorial aggrandizement should be halted and the steps taken in that direction during the past fourteen years retraced. The United States should no longer stand behind any government or faction in South and Central America, but allow the people of those Republics to settle their own disputes in their own way. The United States should no longer stretch the Monroe Doctrine to the extent that our government can take charge of the revenues and settle the claims made by Europeans upon the republics to the south. Our right to intervene in Cuban affairs should be modified and all thought of acquiring Cuba abandoned.

Governor Wilson has not announced his foreign policy, but his public utterances, the declarations of his party, and the position of that party in Congress indicate a policy in foreign affairs which means a return to that status which was so strongly recommended by George Washington and which was followed by his successors for more than one hundred years.

## *The War of 1898 Revolutionized Our Foreign Policy*

The Spanish war changed our entire foreign policy. It enlarged the scope of our Monroe Doctrine. It occasioned the annexation of

Hawaii. It caused the acquisition of the Philippines and Porto Rico, a protectorate over Cuba, and the construction of the Panama Canal. It made the United States a "world power," meaning that this country became enmeshed in world politics, especially as affecting the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. The destruction of the few worthless Spanish ships in Manila Bay, unnecessary as it now appears, changed the whole course of the United States in a most important respect. It made us expansionists and possessors of almost unknown lands beyond the seas. Hawaii was annexed because the Philippines made an outpost in the Pacific necessary, according to the eminent strategists who were at that time shaping the destinies of our country.

Nearer home, but not quite so vital nor expensive as the operations in the Pacific, the Spanish war gave us Porto Rico, a protectorate over Cuba (which bids fair to ripen into a possession), and the Panama Canal. The unnecessary trip of the battleship *Oregon* around South America, in order to join a fleet in Atlantic waters already larger than was needed, stimulated such an interest in the canal, and was such a convincing argument in favor of a waterway across the isthmus, as to compel its construction. And in order to obtain a right of way across the isthmus our government pursued a course which caused ugly charges to be made, and left a serious diplomatic dispute which must confront the new administration.

## *The Democratic Party in Opposition*

Looking back over the years let us see what has been the position of the Democratic party in regard to most of the questions involved. In nearly every instance where a record has been made it is found that the party was practically unanimous against what was done, save only in respect to the isthmian canal, and in that case it condemned the manner in which the canal strip and con-

cession were obtained. As a party the Democrats opposed the treaty which annexed the Philippines, and though a few Democratic votes were obtained to secure ratification, these votes caused scandals, denunciations, and even fist-fights in the Senate. The first national declaration by the Democrats on the subject made opposition to imperialism and expansion the paramount issue of a Presidential campaign, a position which met with a most hearty response from the representatives of the party. In Congress the Democrats voted for every resolution which opposed expansion. They opposed legislation which further bound the Philippines to this country, and a large majority opposed the Platt Amendment, which virtually gave us a protectorate over Cuba.

But most important of all is the last declaration of the party in its national convention in the platform upon which Mr. Wilson was elected, which says:

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines, or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our government should retain such lands as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

#### *Freedom to the Philippines*

No other interpretation can be placed upon that positive assertion than that immediate steps shall be taken to insure the freedom of the Philippines. And legislation is now pending in the Democratic House of Representatives with that end in view. It is a fact that every move under Republican rule has been in the direction of permanent retention of the Philippines. Forts have been built; a large system of fortifications and naval stations begun; harbors have been improved; bonds have been issued and guaranteed; the Filipinos have been taught the English language; free trade in the staple products of the islands has been granted; in fact, everything possible has been done to make the acquisition perpetual. But in the face of all this has been the opposition of the Democratic party and its constant reiteration

that the people of the islands should have affirmative action in this direction will be taken by the party which is soon to assume the reins of government there can be no doubt.

The Democratic party has not feared the sentimental cry about "hauling down the American flag." The flag was taken down in Mexico and twice it has been hauled down in Cuba. President Cleveland boldly hauled down the flag in Hawaii and reinstated the dethroned monarch. So there will be no hesitation on account of sentimental considerations about hauling down the flag and establishing a free government in the Philippines by the party which has so long opposed the policy of expansion.

#### *Our Other Interests in the Far East*

Coincident with a change of policy regarding the Philippines will be a change in regard to China. Our interests in China will dwindle when we part with our Oriental possessions. There no longer will be a necessity for backing a "Chinese loan," nor for securing railroad concessions in the Flowery Kingdom, much less the excuse that our interests in the Far East demand that we keep abreast with other powers exploiting China. In fact it may be taken for granted that that brand of our diplomatic maneuvering will cease even if we retain possession of the Philippines.

#### *Our Relations to Cuba and Central America*

On our own hemisphere the new foreign policy should be most important. It should insure the independence of Cuba, even if revolution makes doubtful the inauguration of President-elect Menocal. Cuba is now a seething volcano. It contains a population which has been bred to revolution; great numbers of whom are utterly without care for future consequences and whose patriotism reaches no higher than a rifle in hand and a full stomach.

The curse of Spanish misrule has been upon the peoples of South and Central America from the time Columbus sighted the Western Continent. Cuba has had her share of misgovernment and oppression, but long suffering under Spain did not create enough patriotism among the people to accept the gift of freedom made by the United States in a spirit to insure permanent self-government with the ever-generous assistance of our people. On the contrary, this country

is hated because it prevents revolution; its rights in dictating to those people what stands between the people and a burdensome debt; keeps the island in a sanitary condition, and otherwise extends its protecting hand. And now with a new President duly chosen Cuba faces another revolution. Threats are made that Mr. Menocal shall not take his place as President. The faction that opposed him can easily organize a revolution and that it may come at any time is expected by those conversant with conditions in Cuba. Our government has been prepared to intervene on short notice and is always ready to send warships and troops to quell an insurrection. If the new revolution is not in progress when Mr. Wilson becomes President his administration will inherit a condition which must soon force it to act decisively.

It is almost certain that the Monroe Doctrine will no longer be construed to mean that the United States will guarantee the stability of certain governments in Central America and the Caribbean Sea, and assume the protection of foreigners in those countries. The Democrats as a party opposed the agreement by which we assumed control of the finances of Santo Domingo and provided for the payment of that country's debts. That was the beginning of a system of protectorates over weaker and warring republics on this continent.

#### *Colombia's Claim*

One of the most important contentions to be settled by the new administration is the claim of Colombia for the province of Panama. There is plenty of Democratic assertion that Panama was torn from Colombia by connivance on the part of the United States; a conspiracy in which our warships took part; a revolution planned and fomented in this country; and made successful by reason of the action of this government in denying Colombia the right to repossess her revolutionary state. That Panama cannot be restored to Colombia now without endangering our rights on the isthmus is conceded, but that reparation of some kind must be made to Colombia is the opinion of fair-minded people who have given the subject consideration. Colombia has asked to have her claim for compensation submitted to the Hague Tribunal, but so far no arrangement has been made. It will fall to the new administration to settle this claim.

In connection with affairs on the isthmus there is a wide difference of opinion as to whether our government has not exceeded

they should do, supervising their elections, and otherwise exerting protectorate privileges over them.

#### *Our Doings in Nicaragua*

The course pursued by the United States in Nicaragua in landing and fighting United States troops without authority of Congress has been publicly condemned by Senator Bacon of Georgia in the Senate. He is the prospective chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations and it is expected he will have great influence in shaping foreign affairs after the 4th of March. Senator Bacon introduced in the last session a resolution bearing on this subject and forbidding the use of the army in lands not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. He contended at the time that the introduction of an armed force in Nicaragua was an act of war and the Constitution expressly forbade war unless authorized by Congress. No action was taken on the resolution, but it voiced the sentiment of many Democrats and it may be taken as an expression of the views of a majority of that party. The troops were used in Nicaragua to prevent a revolutionary movement from overthrowing the established government. Ostensibly they were used to protect American citizens and the legation of the United States.

The extension of the Monroe Doctrine in recent years included in its scope the treaties made with Nicaragua and Honduras for the control of the finances of those countries and the settlement of their debts. They were similar to the arrangement made with Santo Domingo, but the scheme was to be financed by big money interests in New York, which was a cause of some of the opposition. The Democrats were opposed to the ratification of the treaties and they were never reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations. It is certain that the new administration will not attempt to further extend the Monroe Doctrine along the same lines, but rather there will be an inclination to withdraw from the advanced position taken.

#### *Intervention in Mexico*

The policy of the present administration with respect to Mexico is one that is not likely to be followed by the new administration. Interest almost amounting to intervention has been the course pursued. Favor has been shown the Madero government to

an extent never dreamed of in days when "hands off" was our declared policy. Neutrality has been enforced as far as possible against the opponents of Madero, but this government has openly abandoned neutrality in granting aid and encouragement to Madero. It has encouraged the shipment of arms and supplies to him and has allowed him to take his troops across our territory in order that they might more effectively attack the revolutionists.

Our excuse for interfering in the affairs of Mexico is based on our right to protect American lives and American property. We have also been importuned by foreign governments to protect their citizens. One troublesome feature of the Monroe Doctrine is that foreigners are determined to make us responsible for the lives and property of their people if we maintain the position that foreign forces shall not be landed on the shores of the American continent for the purpose of collecting debts or disciplining small republics who do not seem able to protect the lives and properties of foreign residents. Mexico bids fair to continue a troublesome problem. The clamor of Americans who are interested in Mexican properties and the demand of American residents in that country for protection is something that must be heeded. And yet the only possible protection is through a strong government, similar to that of President Diaz, and such a government had been condemned by the critics as an oligarchy and despotism. Even if the new administration does not support Madero it may find itself obliged to support some other leader who is just as inefficient and who will be beset by revolutionists on every hand.

#### *South American Irritations*

An attempt was made to do in Venezuela practically what was afterward accomplished in Santo Domingo, but the haughty Spanish people of that country refused to become subject to our so-called "good offices." They rejected our overtures to help them settle their obligations to foreigners even if those foreigners insisted upon possessing their custom ports in order to collect the money. Since that time our government has not assumed very much in the way of exercising control of South American countries below the isthmus. It is true that this government did join what might be termed a "concert of powers" to prevent war between Bolivia and Ecuador. Acting with Chili, Argentina and Brazil, the United States told those small

nations that they should not fight with each other although their armies were then confronting each other on the frontier. While the result accomplished may be commended the question of authority may well be doubted, and whether a new administration will follow the same course if similar conditions should arise depends upon the manner in which the new administration shall interpret the Monroe Doctrine.

That the extension of the Monroe Doctrine in recent years has been irritating to the peoples of Latin America there can be no doubt. No country can be entirely satisfied when a stronger country tells it who shall govern it, denies it the right to overturn a sitting government, and by force of arms puts down a revolution. That has been done in Nicaragua and, in continuance of the same policy, may be done in almost any other country. The right of revolution of a country is a part of its sovereignty. Revolution in many of the Latin-American countries is not only a right—it is a profession. Control of the custom houses and the finances is the aim of every revolutionary leader. Without the prospect of such control there would be no incentive to revolution. By protecting the custom houses and the finances the United States has made revolution unprofitable, but has not increased the affection of the people on that account. Naturally, under these conditions the great majority are denied the opportunity for handling the revenues of the government and they are dissatisfied. To continue the policy will increase the dissatisfaction. Revolts will be put down by American forces. Gunboats with marines in readiness to land must patrol the seacoasts. Altogether it will mean constant vigilance and activity on the part of this government, for few of the governments in those countries where we have been operating can long stand alone and unaided.

#### *Responsibility for Latin-American Finances*

The extension of the Monroe Doctrine has been forced by the attitude of European governments which insist that the Latin-American Republics shall pay the debts due their citizens, and further that the United States must insure the safety of the lives and property of Europeans. It must either police the American continent or it must not object to the occupation of ports by foreign forces to collect debts and insure the safety of foreigners in disturbed regions. Our government in attempting to handle the

finances of several different southern countries has endeavored to obviate the occupation of any territory on this continent by European force. Long ago Corinto in Nicaragua was seized by a British force and the custom receipts taken to satisfy a British claim. It was to avoid a like occurrence in Santo Domingo that the United States took control of the finances of that republic.

Another object, philanthropic in its way, is to protect the governments of Latin America from looting by the avaricious foreigners with their claims. Not only have foreigners, but our own American citizens, obtained concessions and acquired claims of doubtful regularity. Those countries have been exploited by freebooters and buccaneers for many years. Preposterous claims, outrageous interest charges, and many other features of half-civilized administration and corruption, have been the curse of many of the countries. The altruistic spirit which has actuated the present administration to try and relieve the conditions existing has been commended in some quarters, while in others the course has been condemned as being in the interest of Wall Street. In this day it is only necessary to hang a Wall Street tag on any proposition to make most politicians wary of it, and it may be generally assumed that diplomacy of the altruistic kind in relation to Latin America will be divorced.

#### *Interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine*

The new administration will be face to face with a Monroe Doctrine problem. Carefully have our statesmen avoided giving a definite declaration of what the Monroe Doctrine really means. It is used when needed to suit any situation arising on the American continent. The Lodge resolution adopted in the Senate in the last session of Congress, declared that the Monroe Doctrine meant that our government would not permit a coaling station to be located by a foreign power on the American continent. That was not the language, but that is the interpretation. The Lodge resolution has no force save as it expressed the opinion of a majority of the Senate as it then existed. Such a resolution might not receive the sanction of the Senate that will come into power on the 4th of March.

The Monroe Doctrine, promulgated originally to keep Spain from seeking to reassert sovereignty over her revolted colonies on the American continent, has been extended and expanded until it may now mean protector-

ates over, and regulation of, such Latin-American states as seem unable to control their own affairs. The new administration must either accept this new construction and application or abandon it. Action will be required one way or another. In Santo Domingo, it is true, the condition can be continued on the ground of carrying out an existing agreement, but if no steps are taken to cancel that agreement, to withdraw United States officials, and, what is more important, to withdraw United States warships that have been hovering in the vicinity, it will virtually mean a continuance of the existing policy and Santo Domingo will continue to be a protectorate.

#### *A Change of Policy Expected*

What seems bound to precipitate a complication of foreign troubles upon the new administration is the fact that the peoples with whom we have had so much to do for the past fourteen years have little conception of our own people or our government. They do not fully understand that the change from one party to another is of no great concern to ourselves. But the fact that the party in power has taken an active interest in their affairs so long, and that prominent men of the opposition, and now of the successful party, have opposed that activity, naturally leads them to expect a change of policy. Notably is this true in the Philippines where the Democratic success has already been hailed as meaning independence without delay. And so far as those people are concerned the platform declarations and the pending legislation in the House of Representatives gives them ample assurance that their hopes are justified.

As to our Central American republics it must be admitted that those who can understand something of what takes place here have reason to believe that there will be a change of policy. When Senator Bacon becomes chairman of the Foreign Relations committee it may naturally be inferred that his views regarding the illegality of the use of troops to bolster up governments in those southern republics have been indorsed.

Clearly the activity which has been the policy of later years in regard to these countries must have aroused intense interest among those who believe their rights have been invaded. Beyond question they will look to the new administration to reverse that policy. It means immediate action soon after the new administration takes control.

And it must be either the continuation of sixty years ago when the Clayton-Bulwer a policy which has evoked a great deal of criticism by the Democrats when in the minority, or a decisive movement toward a policy of non-interference with the affairs of governments on the American continent.

### Pending Questions

No administration can turn the government over to another party with a clean diplomatic slate. Our foreign relations cannot be cleared up in a day, a week, or even in the four months which elapse between the time a President is elected and when he takes office. Diplomacy cannot be hurried. If it was the earnest desire of the Secretary of State to have every pending question settled by the 4th of March he could not bring it about. There is nothing quite so slow as diplomatic negotiations. Curiously enough, both sides seem to feel that they gain by postponement. At least they know they have lost nothing. For several centuries Turkey has maintained a position in Europe because her diplomats have been adepts in the postponement of all negotiations.

And so it happens that the Wilson administration will come into power with a number of very important questions pending which may lead to other complications. "Our relations with foreign countries have been peaceful and highly satisfactory," the President announces to Congress, but that does not mean that many important matters are not subjects of contention. There are many that require consideration and negotiation, and most of them will be inherited by the Wilson administration.

### The Problem of Canal Tolls

From the beginning of our history we have had difficult diplomatic relations with Great Britain and there will be a fresh crop of disputes on hand when the older ones are settled. One new question for which Congress is responsible is that granting free tolls through the Panama Canal for American coastwise shipping. While Great Britain makes the protest and is the country which will carry on the negotiations, every country in the world is interested and every country is opposed to the position which we have taken. Of course our people have argued themselves into the idea that we can do what we please with our own canal. There ought to be no question about that if we had not taken Great Britain into a sort of partnership about

sixty years ago when the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was negotiated. That treaty was superseded by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty by which equality in canal tolls was guaranteed to all nations. Absolutely and beyond question there can be no way of juggling the words so as to make them mean less than what they say and in excepting our coastwise shipping from the payment of tolls we are breaking the treaty. Naturally Great Britain protests and some day our people will pay for the blunder. It is a legacy of the Republican administration to the Democratic administration. It may be passed along for a number of years, for Great Britain bides her time.

As an illustration of her patience, and also her aptitude for selecting the psychological time, the Dawson claim may be cited. Dawson was a British subject and more than a score of years ago he was crossing the Kansas plains. He and his family were killed by Indians or persons disguised as Indians. At all events, his relatives presented a claim and Great Britain set up the contention that the United States did not furnish the adequate protection guaranteed by the treaty on that subject. For about ten years the negotiations dragged and appeared to have been forgotten. And then came the Spanish war. It seemed to Great Britain that an auspicious time for settlement had arrived and just when we were welcoming the moral support of any one nation in Europe the Dawson claim was revived and it was settled.

Those who know a little of the mysterious diplomacy of Albion expect that, no matter how the negotiations over the canal tolls may lag, a time will come when Great Britain can force us to take the question to The Hague. No one doubts for a moment that the decision of that tribunal will be against the United States. And it will mean the return of every dollar that may have been collected in canal tolls from foreign vessels.

### Relations with Canada

As long as Canada is a part of the British empire relations with that country will continue to be one of the vexations of diplomats. It might seem that the boundary and fisheries disputes have all been settled, but violations of treaties and discovery of some particular point which has been overlooked are constantly becoming the source of new disputes and more negotiations. Even now a boundary commission is trying to adjust disputes over water courses which, by the

original treaty, determine the line between the United States and Canada.

Canadian reciprocity is also a subject to be passed on to the party triumphant in the November elections. In a large measure that is something for Congress to consider, but it will come before the executive department also. Canadian reciprocity was made possible by the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress aided by the Democratic minority in the Senate. There is a supposition that reciprocity was killed by the defeat of the Laurier government in Canada, but there is a belief that when Canada recovers from the scare of annexation, which really caused the defeat of reciprocity in that country, the Canadians will realize the advantages to them in the agreement and ratify it, unless, in the meantime, action has been taken by the United States to repeal the law. Such repeal was undertaken when the tariff bills were under consideration during the Sixty-second Congress and the repeal was voted into one or two of them. At all events, Canadian reciprocity is one of the legacies of the party soon to take charge of the government.

#### *Our Trade with Russia*

Whatever may become of the negotiations to establish a modus vivendi with Russia in order to continue uninterrupted trade relations upon the expiration of the treaty which was abrogated by instructions of Congress, there still remains an adjustment of the passport question which was the real cause of the rupture. With great acclaim and scarcely any opposition, Congress passed the resolution at the behest of the Jewish people in the United States. That action went a long way toward making William Sulzer governor of New York, but it left a diplomatic tangle which is yet unsolved.

It was subsequently discovered that the United States has a commerce in Russia amounting to about \$80,000,000 annually, and without any agreement to the contrary the maximum rates of duty can be imposed by Russia, which might have the effect of shutting out the exports from this country. As a retaliatory measure the United States could apply its maximum duties which would bring about a condition very harmful to large business interests. Neither country desires that; hence the negotiations having for their object the continuation of the commercial relations between the countries.

But even such an arrangement is unstable and may be broken at any time. More than that, nothing has been gained in the way of guaranteeing to the Jews of American citizenship the rights they demand when traveling in Russia. Although there was a passport provision in the treaty which has been abrogated, it had no place in a commercial treaty. If a new commercial treaty is negotiated the passport subject should be eliminated and covered in a separate treaty. And how can such a treaty be made in the face of the attitude of the Russian Government? It is known that this very question figured in the recent Presidential campaign to a large extent, and it is naturally expected that the new administration will try to seek an adjustment. It will require the shrewdest kind of diplomacy to secure a treaty with Russia that will meet the requirements of the situation.

#### *Pressing Problems in "Dollar Diplomacy"*

"Dollar Diplomacy" has been condemned in rather severe terms, more particularly as applied to the Latin-American republics. But a large part of the so-called "Dollar Diplomacy" has been the effort to extend American trade through the Department of State, which heretofore has been devoted almost wholly to diplomatic affairs. Under the new system there has been created in the Department of State a commercial bureau with four divisions, called, respectively, "Western Europe," the "Near East," meaning Mediterranean Asia and Africa, the "Far East," meaning the Oriental countries and Australasia, and "Latin America," including also those countries bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. That Democratic opposition has developed to this form of proposed trade expansion was shown in the last session of Congress when the House of Representatives cut off the appropriations for the bureau in the supply bill for the executive departments. The assertion was made that practically the same results were assured through other departments and bureaus.

"Dollar Diplomacy," so far as it relates to the trade bureau in the Department of State, was saved by the Republican Senate and the Republican executive. It will be interesting to see whether the same course will be pursued when the power in all legislative branches is lodged in the Democratic party. It may be taken for granted that similar action will not be taken by the next Democratic House of Representatives unless it is known that it will meet the approval of the executive department. The disposition of this particular

phase of "Dollar Diplomacy" adds one more perplexity in foreign affairs to the many that confront the new administration.

#### *Tariff Differences with Germany and France*

Trade troubles with both Germany and France are perennial. There has not been a time for many years when negotiations of some kind were not in progress with those nations to settle contentions over the admission of our products to their markets or the admission of their products to ours. The questions which fall to the next administration may not be entirely new, nor will they involve anything upon which there have been party differences in our own country. With a reduction of tariff duties by the Democratic party there should be established a basis of adjustment less difficult than under Republican rates of duty. Yet much of the commerce from those countries, especially that of wines, is considered to be under the head of luxuries, always the subject of high rates, and both Germany and France have always insisted that our high duties on such articles were not reasonable.

#### *Germany as an Oil Monopolist*

Germany, also, has a method of her own in dealing with commerce, looking out for the German producer all the time. In order to stimulate any industry Germany will make a prohibitive tariff and will also make trade agreements with other countries which will have the effect of keeping a commercial rival out of her markets. At present there is under contemplation an arrangement by which the petroleum of Southern Russia, Roumania, and Austria, though of inferior quality, may be imported into Germany by a method which will exclude the superior oil of the Standard Oil Company. This proposal goes so far as to secure from independent concerns in America a better grade of oil than produced in Europe for the purpose of mixing with the inferior oils. By making a monopoly of the oil trade Germany can effectively shut out the greatest oil-producing concern in the world. Of course the United States will not consent without protest to have discrimination practised upon any commercial organization of this country, even if it be an unpopular combination which has been prosecuted under our own laws. The new administration as well as the present will contend for equal treatment of all commerce with foreign nations.

#### *Our Policy towards Japan and China*

In the Orient there will ever be questions which are troublesome and which have no relation to party divisions in the United States. The treatment to be accorded the Japanese people in this country has given rise to serious difficulties, and it is well known that on the Pacific coast the Japanese question is a live one and may at any time call for important action. Japan has evidently been anxious to acquire a coaling station on the American continent. The Lodge resolution on this subject was directed at Japan and meant to stop supposed negotiations of that government for a station in Mexico on the shores of the Gulf of California. The large Japanese population in the Hawaiian islands has been considered a menace and has caused the hurried efforts in pushing to completion the military stronghold which the United States is making in Hawaii as well as securing the safety of Pearl Harbor as a naval station. While the statesmen of both countries have been emphatic in refuting every rumor that tended toward even threatened hostilities, the constant Japanese war scare has called for careful diplomatic consideration and will continue to do so in the future.

In time the new Republic of China must be recognized. Some of our people thought we should be foremost in such recognition. Much weight was given to the action of Mr. Sulzer, of New York, in framing and introducing a resolution in the House of Representatives congratulating the new republic upon its birth. He was chairman of the House committee on Foreign Affairs which gave the resolution particular prominence. There was in contemplation the introduction of a resolution by Mr. Sulzer calling upon this government to recognize the new republic of China, but upon consultation with the Department of State the proposal was abandoned as it was shown that the several powers, acting in concert, can best handle the Chinese situation. Save for the possible withdrawal of effort to secure business advantages in China, it is quite likely that the policy of the new administration with respect to that country will not differ from that which has been pursued heretofore, unless new complications may change conditions.

#### *Change of Party Means Change of Policy*

Heretofore a change of party has not involved any change in the conduct of our foreign relations or foreign policy in material

matters and with the more important nations of the world. It is true that President Cleveland reversed the Harrison program in favor of Hawaii and President McKinley in turn reversed the Cleveland policy. But Hawaii was an incident, although later it became a long step in our expansion policy. It has been sixteen years, however, since the Democratic party has had any voice in shaping foreign policies. In that time we have become a "world power," and, for the most part, with the opposition of the party about to take control of the government. In the progress of events steps have been taken which brought who voiced the sentiment of their party. Promise has been made that some of those steps taken will be retraced and that a modification of policies pursued may be expected. It is on this account that the course of the new administration and the party in power in Congress after the 4th of March will be watched with keen interest.

## OUR NATIONAL POLICIES AS PRESIDENT TAFT SEES THEM

THE most authoritative and comprehensive declaration of Republican policy in our foreign relations is to be found in President Taft's first message to the present session of Congress, sent on the morning of December 3. This message of a Republican President, showing the continuity of Republican polities in regard to the relations of the United States with the rest of the world, furnishes certain illuminating and significant contrasts to the tenets of Democratic foreign policy as formulated in the foregoing article from general Democratic doctrine. We are therefore quoting for our readers significant portions of the President's message on our most important foreign problems.

The position of the United States in the moral, intellectual, and material relations of the family of nations, says President Taft, should be a matter of vital interest to every patriotic citizen.

Whether we have a farseeing and wise diplomacy and are not recklessly plunged into unnecessary wars, and whether our foreign policies are based upon an intelligent grasp of present-day world conditions and a clear view of the potentialities of the future, or are governed by a temporary and timid expediency or by narrow views befitting an infant nation, are questions in the alternative consideration of which must convince any thoughtful citizen that no department of national polity offers greater opportunity for promoting the interests of the whole people on the one hand, or greater chance on the other of permanent national injury, than that which deals with the foreign relations of the United States.

The fundamental foreign policies of the United States, Mr. Taft continues: "should be raised high above the conflict of partisan-

ship and wholly dissociated from differences as to domestic policy." In reviewing the year in our foreign relations, the President states that his main endeavor was to "define clearly certain concrete policies which are the logical, modern corollaries of the undisputed and traditional fundamentals of the foreign policy of the United States."

Coming to the much discussed, somewhat criticized policy, which has come to be known as dollar diplomacy, President Taft says:

This policy is one that appeals alike to idealistic humanitarian sentiments, to the dictates of sound policy and strategy, and to legitimate commercial aims. It is an effort frankly directed to the increase of American trade upon the axiomatic principle that the Government of the United States shall extend all proper support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad. How great have been the results of this diplomacy, coupled with the maximum and minimum provision of the tariff law, will be seen by some consideration of the wonderful increase in the export trade of the United States. Because modern diplomacy is commercial, there has been a disposition in some quarters to attribute to it none but materialistic aims. How strikingly erroneous is such an impression may be seen from a study of the results by which the diplomacy of the United States can be judged.

Referring to the successful efforts of arbitration and mediation made by the United States in conjunction with European powers during the recent conflict in China, the policy of "encouraging financial investment in China to enable that country to help itself," the President says:

The consistent purpose of the present administration has been to encourage the use of American capital in the development of China by the pro-

motion of those essential reforms to which China is pledged by treaties with the United States and other powers. . . . The policy of promoting international accord among the powers having similar treaty rights as ourselves in the matters of reform, which could not be put into practical effect without the common consent of all, was likewise adopted in the case of the loan desired by China for the reform of its currency.

In Central America, "the aim has been to help such countries as Nicaragua and Honduras to help themselves." But "the national benefit to the United States is two-fold."

First, it is obvious that the Monroe doctrine is more vital in the neighborhood of the Panama Canal and the zone of the Caribbean than anywhere else. There, too, the maintenance of that doctrine falls most heavily upon the United States. It is therefore essential that the countries within that sphere shall be removed from the jeopardy involved by heavy foreign debt and chaotic national finances and from the ever-present danger of international complications due to disorder at home. Hence the United States has been glad to encourage and support American bankers who were willing to lend a helping hand to the financial rehabilitation of such countries because this financial rehabilitation and the protection of their customhouses from being the prey of would-be dictators would remove at one stroke the menace of foreign creditors and the menace of revolutionary disorder. The second advantage to the United States is one affecting chiefly all the southern and Gulf ports and the business and industry of the South. The Republics of Central America and the Caribbean possess great natural wealth. They need only a measure of stability and the means of financial regeneration to enter upon an era of peace and prosperity, bringing profit and happiness to themselves and at the same time creating conditions sure to lead to a flourishing interchange of trade with this country.

With regard to Mexico and the enforcement of neutrality laws, the President says:

Throughout the trying period ["years of revolution and of counter-revolution"], the policy of the United States has been one of patient non-intervention, steadfast recognition of constituted authority in the neighboring nation, and the exertion of every effort to care for American interests. . . . the responsibility of endeavoring to safeguard those interests and the dangers inseparable from propinquity to so turbulent a situation have been great, but I am happy to have been able to adhere to the policy above outlined.

The President then takes up financial claims settled in Latin America, to "good offices" brought to bear in securing "order and tranquillity" in the Dominican Republic, in Haiti, and in Cuba, in supervising the elections in Panama, and in helping the natives of Guatemala and Nicaragua, as well as the foreign bondholders of those countries.

After commenting on the increase in our foreign trade, Mr. Taft speaks of the advan-

tage of our having a maximum and minimum provision to our tariff, and asks Congress for supplementary legislation in this matter.

In the matter of arbitration with Great Britain, he calls attention to the Alaska Fur Seal Convention of July, 1911, and the final settlement of the North Atlantic fisheries dispute in July last, and speaks hopefully of the settlement of the differences with Mexico in the Imperial Valley and Chamizal regions. He regrets "the unfortunate failure of our government to enact recommended legislation with regard to the international regulation of opium."

Coming now to the Italian-Turkish and Balkan wars, the President speaks of our "absolute neutrality and complete disinterestedness," but felicitates the American people on the work done by the Red Cross. He justifies the despatch of American warships to Turkish waters, "in order that we may take part, in such measure as may be necessary for the interested nations to adopt for the safeguarding of foreign lives and property in the Ottoman Empire in the event that a dangerous situation should develop."

In conclusion, the President asserts that as a nation we are now at the threshold of our middle age.

The nation is now too mature to continue in its foreign relations those temporary expedients natural to a people to whom domestic affairs are the sole concern. In the past our diplomacy has often consisted, in normal times, in a mere assertion of the right to international existence. We are now in a larger relation with broader rights of our own and obligations to others than ourselves. A number of great guiding principles were laid down early in the history of this Government. The recent task of our diplomacy has been to adjust those principles to the conditions of to-day, to develop their corollaries, to find practical applications of the old principles expanded to meet new situations. Thus are being evolved bases upon which can rest the superstructure of policies which must grow with the destined progress of this nation.

As to the Philippines, President Taft, in a second message, sent to Congress on December 6, referred to the bill pending in Congress to grant limited independence to the islands and enunciated Republican policy in these words:

We are seeking to arouse a national spirit and not, as under the older colonial theory, to suppress such a spirit . . . but our work is far from done, our duty to the Filipinos is far from discharged.

. . . A present declaration even of future independence would retard progress by the dissension and disorder it would arouse. . . . It would make the helpless Filipino the football of Oriental politics under the protection of a guarantee of their independence which it would be useless to enforce.

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## CURRENT COMMENT IN THE BRITISH PERIODICALS

THE most thorough and comprehensive treatment of current world topics in all branches of human activity or speculation is undoubtedly to be found in the English reviews. Such reviews as the *Quarterly*, the *Contemporary*, the *Nineteenth Century*, the *Westminster*, the *National*, and the *English Review*, despite the sober and somewhat mechanical appearance of their pages, cannot be matched in the world for exhaustive and authoritative treatment of events and ideas that are of concern to any large reading public. The *English Review of Reviews*, which covers the topics of the modern world in much the same way as that with which the readers of this American REVIEW are familiar, with its larger page and copious illustrations, is more sprightly in appearance than its contemporaries in England. Then, of course, there are the host of other magazines of special or class interest.

During the past few months the serious English magazines have been devoting their attention to the various phases of the reform program of the Liberal ministry, to what Carlyle called the "condition of the people" question, the minute ramifications of the Empire's foreign relations, and other subjects of a more exclusively British interest. The *Contemporary*, in its last three numbers, has a dozen articles on world politics, not including the regular monthly department of twenty pages—always the same number—which Dr. E. J. Dillon contributes on foreign affairs in general, besides studies of the Lloyd-George insurance act, Ireland and Home Rule, and other social reform topics in England, each one showing that outlook upon national life which we in this country have come to call progressive. An article of this kind, "Two Model States in What Concerns Children," was condensed and printed in December in this magazine. Sir Edwin Pears considers that, as a consequence of the Balkan war, Turkey is in danger of a return to absolutism. Sir Arthur Evans, F. R. S., scores the Berlin treaty as "the Balkan mischiefmaker," and R. W. Seton-Watson considers Austria as a Balkan power. Sir Max Waechter carefully outlines the reasons,

which, in his opinion, make a federation of Europe not only necessary but inevitable. J. Howard Whitehouse, M. P., makes an appeal for the enactment into law of the White Slave Traffic bill, recently passed by Parliament. Dr. Richard C. Maclaurin incisively reviews the "Presidential Campaign and the Trust Problem in America." He represents the opinions of President Taft, Dr. Wilson, and Colonel Roosevelt in the main accurately, without making any comment himself. Prof. Alfred Dennis contributes a sketch of President-elect Wilson. Mrs. Sturge Gretton reviews the letters of George Meredith sympathetically and appreciatively, and Miss Constance Spender has an article on the Grimm Fairy Tales, apropos of the fact that the brothers Grimm began to write a hundred years ago. Finally there are two articles on proportional representation.

The *Quarterly* has a judicial article on the Irish Home Rule question, amounting to a ponderous, formidable criticism of the Ulster position. Mr. Percy Lubbock considers Browning's poetry, referring to the poet as "a spiritual adventurer born out of due time." Other purely historical articles on Roman and mediaeval topics complete the number. The *Nineteenth Century* has an extraordinary article by the Duke of Westminster, often referred to as "the most plutocratic peer in England." Now, however, he glories in the militancy of modern British democracy. British Imperialism, he claims, is not aristocratic and jingoistic, but "(look at Britain's most democratic possessions, our imperialistic colonies)—contrary to the widely held opinion, democratic, peaceful and utilitarian in the best sense of the word." Sir R. I. Palgrave inveighs against the proposed Liberal land tax which he calls unjust; "Trafalgar" says the British navy has degenerated chiefly because discipline has been relaxed; and Maurice Low has a long article on the crops of the United States.

The *Westminster* is fond of publishing articles on economic and educational topics. We give this month the substance of a paper appearing in two consecutive numbers on the educational institutions of Scotland. The

*National* is coming to be looked upon as the organ of the jingoistic Unionist party. Its editor, Mr. L. J. Maxse, is mortally afraid of Germany, incessantly calling upon Britain, in his monthly editorial round-up, to prepare for the inevitable conflict with the Kaiser's navy. The November number, however, is distinguished by the fact that Mr. Maxse has arrived at the conclusion that the German Emperor really wants peace. A writer signing himself "Imperialist" reads a lecture to Premier Borden, of Canada, and insists that the Dominion must help the British navy unconditionally. We have more to say on this subject in a feature article this month, and in another article from the *Round Table*, which we reproduce in this department. The *Round Table* is a new quarterly conducted on somewhat novel lines. Its aim is "to publish once a quarter a complete review of Imperial politics, entirely free from the bias of local party issues"; and its affairs in each portion of the Empire are "in the sole charge of local residents who are responsible for all articles on the politics of their own country." In the last number, besides the article on the Canadian navy, there are noteworthy studies of Australian, New Zealand, South African, and Indian topics.

The *English Review* is edited with a virility that despises all British traditions. In the November number, Mr. Lisle March Phillipps writes on "Mr. Lloyd-George and his Country." He believes that the Liberal party is at present becoming "enslaved to mechanism," but is certain that the Chancellor will yet save his party. Mr. S. M. Murray contrasts higher education in Scotland with that in England, to the discredit of the latter, in an article which makes excellent supplementary reading to the study in the *Westminster*, which we condense on another page. P. P. Howe, in a humorous article on "Malthus and the Publishing Trade," makes a plea for the restriction of the production of unnecessary books.

Mr. Frederic Harrison is said to have once remarked that of the newer English magazines the two most important, in his opinion, were the *Hibbert Journal* and the *Englishwoman*. The *Hibbert* is a quarterly devoted largely to the discussion of religion, theology and philosophy. A striking paper in the October number is the plea made by the native Fiji Islanders for Christian polytheism. H. V. Arkell maintains that the Catholic church in France has been completely regenerated as a result of disestablishment. Professor Lobstein endeavors to estimate the

worth of the famous Father Tyrrell and the "Modernist" movement to the Protestant consciousness. Frank I. Paradise (of Boston, Mass.), under the title "A Nation at School," sums up the significance of the Progressive party movement to American life, as "the initiation of a new era of industrial and social justice achieved through the genuine rule of the people." Finally, the editor, L. P. Jacks, demonstrates that "under democracy, the area of authority is being steadily extended." He asks whether the people are being trained for the "corresponding habit of obedience." The *Englishwoman* is "intended to reach the cultured public and bring before it in a convincing and moderate form the case for the enfranchisement of woman."

Besides its usual varied and ably conducted departments, the English *Review of Reviews* always prints a number of feature articles of special timely value. In the current issue (January) the noteworthy signed articles are: "The Aims and Policy of Servia," by Nicholas Pashitch, the well known Servian statesman; "Party Politics and National Efficiency," by Lord Rosebery; "Personal Experiences of Votes for Women," by Dr. Tekla Hultin, member of the Finnish Diet; and "The Truth about this Country's Food," —meaning, of course, England—by R. Spencer Thomas. Dr. Pashitch sets forth the Servian point of view as against the Austrian contention, temperately and clearly. Servia aims at economic independence, he tells us, and feels that to have complete economic independence she must have "an outlet to the sea, which shall be under no control save our own after the sacrifices we have made, and which we may still be called upon to make." Lord Rosebery reads a lecture to British party government. Japan, he insists, is an object lesson of efficiency in this respect. He draws comparisons between the Japanese idea and that of England:

There has no doubt been plenty of party in Japan. But party in Japan has not spelled inefficiency; it tends, perhaps, in the other direction. It appears to be a rivalry of faction for the goal and prize of efficiency. Japanese parties apparently represent a nation determined on efficiency. That is where we differ. We are not a nation bent on efficiency; we have thriven so well on another diet that we are careless in the matter. We regard our parties as interesting groups of gladiators. Our firmest faith appears to be that one will do worse than the other; so we maintain the other, whichever that may be. The possibility of a directing and vitalizing government that shall do and inspire great things we seem to exclude from possibility with a sort of despair. We know too well that our ministers, however great the ardor and freshness with which they set to work,

will soon be lost in the labyrinthine mazes of parliamentary discussion, and that whatever energy they can preserve when they emerge must be devoted to struggling for existence on provincial platforms.

And yet there is work to do—pressing, vital work, which does not admit of delay; work which would fill strenuous years even if Parliament were suspended and not a speech were delivered.

But Parliament must sit and speeches must be discharged. We must then, at least, learn from Japan how to obtain efficiency in spite of the party systems.

According to the experience of Finland, Dr. Hutlin tells us, woman suffrage has not

proved the foolish, useless and dangerous thing it is sometimes thought to be. She believes that suffrage would be as effective in England as in Finland "and even better, because of the absence here in England of the political complications with which England is faced." Mr. Thomas considers Britain's food supply from the tenant farmer's point of view. This class in Britain, he tells us, has failed because "of insecurity of tenure and inadequacy of compensation on leaving their holdings." They hope much from the program of the present Liberal Government.

## CANADA AND THE NAVAL DEFENSE OF THE EMPIRE

AS we record elsewhere, Premier Borden announced some weeks ago in the House of Commons at Ottawa that, following Canada's offer to apply \$35,000,000 for three Dreadnaughts for defense of the British Empire, "the British Government had agreed that a Canadian Minister in London should attend all meetings of the Committee of Imperial Defense, and that without consultation with Canada's representative, no important step in foreign policy will be taken." It is clear that such agreement marks the beginning of a new form of imperial federation. Some such plan of coöperation between the Dominion and the mother country has long been anticipated; and a writer in the *Round Table* (London) suggests the very plan referred to in the Canadian Premier's announcement. The subject "Canada and the Navy" is treated from three standpoints: "As it appears from London"; "Party Opinion in Canada"; and "The View of the Plains."

(1) The growth of the Dominions has brought with it certain problems which must be solved. Of these perhaps the most pressing is that of defense and foreign policy. To quote from the *Round Table* writer:

Before 1909 the problem of Imperial Defense had not been recognized as acute. Satisfied that the United Kingdom was well able to secure by her own efforts the safety of the empire, the Dominions had been content either to do nothing at all or to contribute a relatively small sum to the British navy. But in that year the serious nature of the German competition became apparent. The Dominions hastened to offer their help, and an Imperial Defense Conference was held in London. At this conference a far-reaching change was made in the defensive system of the empire. It was decided that Australia and Canada should create local navies of their own instead of contributing to

a single navy under the authority of the British Government. . . . The time then, is ripe for both Canada and Australia to demand some share in directing the policy of the empire. Yet both countries must be patient. Any change which can now be made must be small, must be tentative. The idea has been mooted that as a first step, such Dominions as wish should send a representative, who should be one of their Cabinet Ministers, to sit as a member of the Committee of Imperial Defense. . . . We may look, therefore, to the Committee taking the form of a Council of Ministers from the united nations of the Empire, advised by their experts in defense and foreign affairs.

(2) In Canada the two great parties in politics are the Liberals and the Conservatives, the traditions of the former leaning



THE BORDEN NAVAL POLICY UNVEILED  
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

toward emphasizing the autonomy of Canada, while those of the Conservatives tend to emphasize the connection with the mother country. There is also the faction of the Nationalists, which is important only in the Province of Quebec. In March, 1909, the leaders of the Government and the Opposition in consultation drafted a bill on the subject of a Dominion navy which was passed unanimously in the following terms:

The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with and in close relation to the Imperial Navy.

Agreement between the parties did not last long; and after many discussions of the matter it is now evident that the popular sentiment in Canada demands that "the permanent Canadian contribution to naval defense shall take the form of a Canadian naval contingent."

To sum up the situation as between the two parties, it may be said that

both are practically agreed that Canada must do something immediate, substantial, and effective in the way of making provision for Naval Defense, and that in doing it Canada's position as a self-governing Dominion must not be impaired.

(3) While the attitude of the Atlantic and Pacific provinces to the Empire is tolerably well known, what, asks the *Round Table*, about the plains?

Every wide-awake Westerner will tell you that the prosperity of the West depends upon three things—men, money, and markets—an ever increasing tide of immigration, an ever expanding stream of capital to care for the settler and a re-

liable and rising market to take his products. An ever increasing stream of men and money and ever expanding markets, these sum up the Westerner's hopes. . . . The Westerner's greatest enemy is war. To-day he may not believe this; to-morrow he will. The supply of men to fill his towns, to till his lands, to build his railways, will dry up if a great European war breaks out, and more particularly a war in which Britain is involved. . . . The price of wheat soars when a war cuts off a portion of the world's supply. Thus, if war were to seal up the Russian, the Egyptian, the Indian, or the French ports, the price of wheat would rise. A British war, which would interfere with the supply from these countries, would interfere as much, if not more, with the supply from Canada, for Britain's enemy would assail her wheat ships with exceptional vigor. What would be the effect on Canada? The price of wheat in the Liverpool market would rise; but would not the risks due to war and the increased cost of transportation absorb the difference in price? . . . To-day the Westerner clamors for box cars and rapid transportation, because he wants his grain to reach the consumer with the utmost rapidity and in the best condition. If that wheat is in danger on the high seas, the Westerner will call as loudly for a fleet as he ever shouted for box cars and elevators. . . . The Westerner is not an Imperialist by sentiment. Business, not sentiment, governs him. When the Westerner begins to call for protection on the high seas he wants protection, not its semblance. . . . He is not enamored of a large navy; the pomp and circumstance of war do not appeal to him. . . . If war is necessary, he does not want to play with it. . . . If peace can be assured only by Canada's active participation in the burden of the naval defense of the Empire, the Westerner will not be satisfied with make-believe policies and trifling measures.

Assuming that this is a correct interpretation of the Westerner's attitude, it will be found that "as soon as he begins to realize the need of guarding the highway of the seas, he will demand a vigorous policy of national defense."

## SCOTLAND'S SUCCESS IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD

**S**COTLAND'S educational history is a record of obstacles surmounted and difficulties overcome. Geographical difficulties, the mountainous nature of the country, retarded the spread of schools over extensive areas down to the end of the eighteenth century. Another barrier to the development of educational facilities was the poverty of the land.

It was only by the wisest provision and the most careful effort that the little that was available was able to be productive of so wonderful results compared with what her richer southern neighbor could show at the same period, especially among the lower classes of the people. Hardy independence and indomitable thrift would not

permit chill penury to freeze the genial current of their soul. Their very poverty became a source of strength.

Then there was to be combated the long internal turbulence that held sway within the country.

Among the manifold misfortunes that fell upon the land during this weary struggle none was more hurtful to its welfare than that so large a proportion of its intellectual wealth was driven to service in foreign lands. At the beginning of the 17th century, in the six universities and fifteen Protestant colleges of France, "the numbers of Scotchmen who taught in these seminaries was great. They were to be found in all the universities and col-

leges; in several of them they held the honorary situation of principal; and in others they amounted to a third part of the professors."

The foregoing passages are taken from a notable series of articles on the educational institutions of Scotland, in the *Westminster Review*, from the pen of Charles Menmuir, M. A. It has been said: "The education of a people is at once the consequence of all that it believes, and the source of all that it is destined to be." Of no country, writes Mr. Menmuir, can this be more truly affirmed than of Scotland.

Her system of education was logically the outcome of her people as a whole, and the democratic character of both her schools and her universities proves that they reflected the genius of the people more clearly than any other phase of her life, with the exception of her church alone. If, as Froude says, "The Commons of Scotland were the sons of their religion," then their other parent in no less degree was to be found in their schools and universities.

St. Andrew's possessed schools of repute centuries before her venerable University came into being. As early as 1120 the disciples of the schools in connection with the Church of St. Andrew are mentioned as welcoming the friend and biographer of Anselm to the chair of the bishop of the Scots. Scotland's early advance in education was maintained because "her people, her Church, and on occasion her ruling powers were more actively concerned with these matters than were other countries."

Most early educational systems were but little calculated to leaven the masses of the people. This was not the case with Scotland. Says Mr. Menmuir:

Amongst the advantages derived from our Scottish system of education none was more widely felt than its comparative ease of attainment. . . . From the 16th century onward . . . every endeavor was made so that the schools might not become select or exclusive, but would remain really national, and adapted, so far as possible, to the varied circumstances of the different grades into which the people were socially divided. Modern America has justly made a boast that the son of her President may be found side by side with the son of a workman in her schools; but she was not the pioneer in this laudable consummation, for before the Pilgrim Fathers crossed the Atlantic, the heir of the Scottish laird and the son of his ploughman might have been seated on the same school bench, or at times sprawling on the floor of a school so poor that seats were considered a luxury.

The dominie, as badly paid as his school was ill-furnished, was more often than not a graduate himself, so that it was possible for the "lad o' pairts" to get from him a complete preparation for entrance to the university; and "in this way the sons of peasants

and laborers found their way to the various seats of learning, and from thence could rise as far as their native abilities would carry them." Lord Playfair remarked: "Englishmen are sometimes astonished how Scotchmen get on in the world, but the whole secret of it is that every Scot knows it to be his own fault if he is not educated."

The very possibility of this chance of a successful career in scholarship aroused the energy and fanned the ambition of every family in the land, and the poorest Scottish matron ever kept deep down in her heart the hope that she would live to see her son "wag his head in the pulpit."

In Scotland there has always been, in place of religious controversy, hearty co-operation between Church and State in the guidance of educational affairs. "The leaders of the Reformed Church regarded their share in this as a peculiar and a pious duty." But while ever regarding the school as the hand-maid of the Church, the clergy admitted the wider sphere of worldly necessities, and the secular tendency was also fostered. Nor was the practical side of education overlooked. Melville's "Diary" records: "By our master we were teached to handle the bow for archery, the club for golf, the batons for fencing; also to run, to leap, to swim, and to wrestle." French was generally taught from an early period; and "from about the end of the 17th century onward the subject of navigation was assiduously taught in all the schools of the chief seaport towns."

What may be termed the continuity of the educational ladder has been a characteristic of the educational policy of Scotland, though regarded as quite a modern development in many countries. To quote Mr. Menmuir again:

Graded education, for example, did not exist in England half a century ago; but in Scotland there had been for centuries an intimate union between the parochial and grammar schools and the national universities, and this had been rendered the firmer because, as John Stuart Mill stated in his inaugural address at St. Andrew's, "The common schools of Scotland, like her universities, have never been the mere shams that the English universities were during the eighteenth century, and the greater part of the English classical schools still are."

The Scottish universities belong emphatically to the people and not to a class. Like the parish schools they were always democratic in aims and in tone; and their chief contribution, perhaps, to the welfare of their country was their strong patriotic sentiment. Freedom has always been a word dear to the heart of a Scot, and for his political freedom

he is in no small measure indebted to the fact that "the men in the universities represented the freedom and the individualism which undoubtedly characterized the Presbyterianism of the time."

The high public opinion regarding the value of education, which has been so marked a feature of Scottish life, has reacted with unceasing effort."

the greatest benefits upon the results. Scotland has done more than achieve success: she has deserved it. And in acknowledging her debt of gratitude to her educational system she "has this supreme satisfaction, that she never made a better investment than she did in these centuries of patient work and unceasing effort."

## WHAT THE FRENCH PERIODICALS ARE SAYING

IT would seem that timeliness, as readers of American periodicals understand the term, is a question of latitude. At least, it apparently takes on that character in Europe. On the other hand, literary form in the writing for periodicals seems to diffuse itself without any regard whatsoever for the east and west parallels. It may be that it is, after all, a question of free speech and the fullness of democracy. The western European countries have a more vital press, one more largely devoted to a discussion of current topics than the press of those countries to the eastward, as constitutional government in Europe seems to thin out from the vigorous republicanism of France, through the half-constitutionalism of Germany, to the despotism of Russia. The weeklies and monthlies of France are more like the more mature press of England and America than those of any other continental European country.

The staid old *Revue des Deux Mondes*, dean of the French reviews, founded fifty years ago by François Buloz, goes along its deliberate way, publishing solid, scholarly articles on historical subjects, only once in a while opening its dignified pages to a timely article. The *Deux Mondes* is a fortnightly. The two numbers for November and the first one for December consider, in elaborate articles, the American Civil War, the Austro-Prussian War of '66, the Congress of Berlin, and the last Prince of Condé. There are literary articles on Brunetière, a criticism of Bossuet, and a study of the poetry of Mauriac. A man of affairs, M. Biard d'Aunet, devotes thirty pages to setting forth how France may be benefited in time of war by the aeroplanes on her war ships. The *Revue de Paris*, while it cannot quite free itself from the French habit of leading off with an article of purely historical value,—which it does in its first December number by considering the Letters of Marie Antoinette,—gets more quickly into the questions of the present. This *Revue*, in its last three numbers, considers military

aviation, has an original article on Napoleon and the Balkan roads, and, of course, a good deal of speculation, written in the closely woven, thorough French way, on the Near Eastern situation. August Gauvain believes that the future of Turkey will be a purely Oriental matter. He ascribes the present woes of the Porte to the political ineptitude of the Young Turks.

The liveliest, most vital, and wide-awake of the French reviews is undoubtedly *La Revue*, published under the editorship of Jean Finot. This review is issued twice a month, and almost all its articles are characterized by fresh timeliness. Political, social, and artistic personalities and movements are the subjects. In one of the recent numbers Paul Louis has an exhaustive article on the present stage of socialism in Germany. The strength of German socialism, he insists, is the greatest hope for European peace. Besides the Balkan war and the question of European politics generally, *La Revue* is also interested in artistic, religious, and educational matters. An article on the question of the teaching of religion in government schools is given on the following page. The *Correspondant*, also a semi-monthly, is a high class review with a pro-clerical leaning. It always publishes at least one article on politics by André Chéradame, the celebrated political economist. It pays particular attention to political, social, and economic movements among people of the French tongue, particularly with reference to religious matters. Such an article, on the late Spanish premier, Canalejas, and the role he played in Spanish politics is reviewed on another page. Léon Delacroix has a particularly keen analysis, in the first number for November, on Belgian politics as personified in the career of the late Minister Auguste Beernaert. A strong article on Beernaert, from the pen of J. Van den Heuvel, a Belgian publicist of note, appears in the *Revue Générale*, the leading review of Brussels, published in French.

## CONCERNING MORAL EDUCATION

**I**N September, 1908, there assembled in London the first International Congress for Moral Education. It expressed the universal disquietude in face of the academic problem, and, more particularly, the increased attention that the civilized nations are devoting to the testing of the aims, methods, traditions, and, chiefly, the results of moral education. The second Congress met at The Hague in August of last year, and, writing of it in *La Revue* (Paris), M. Alfred Moulet says: "One does not know precisely what rôle the Associations for Ethical Culture of Europe and the United States played in the preparation and organization of the first Congress; and there is strong evidence of their action in the history of the second. The informed historian recognizes the apostle of the moral movement in America, Dr. Felix Adler, by whom our own Paul Desjardins was inspired to found the Union for Moral Action, now known as the Union for the Truth." Another American, who has been an active propagandist in England, is Dr. Stanton Coit. . . . The proceedings of the Hague Congress have been recorded in five volumes of Memoirs; and M. Moulet in a semi-humorous vein declares that they are the best part of the gathering. Of some of the results of the second Congress M. Moulet writes as follows:

In its work and its Memoirs the second Congress has affirmed the universality of a sound design.

Men separated by climate, race, traditions and customs, beliefs, and even education, agree to give to their acts and their thought a supreme aim, toward which they raise the child. . . . Seekers after truths they interpose, in the name of God or of reason, in their life: they desire to regulate it and to guide it to the clarity of a distant star brilliant in the depth of the infinite. Some of the most noble aspirations of humanity express themselves in this manifestation, superior to the misunderstandings of a day and to fraternal strife; and some certitudes of human destiny are written (in four languages) in the touching pages of this Congress.

A portion of M. Moulet's paper is devoted to a consideration of the two doctrines—optimistic and pessimistic—concerning moral education. We read:

Adherents of one doctrine—and they are more particularly partisans of the religious idea—have a conception of man somewhat pessimistic. To them God is necessary—and His grace, and the confessional sanctions, and the beyond which rewards and punishes—to restrain vile instincts and to permit generous aspirations to triumph in a soul purified by faith but originally feeble. Followers of the other—and they are mainly partisans of the lay idea—have a conception of man rather optimistic. They give credit to human nature, to reason, to life; and to them education appears to be a natural solicitation of happy instincts. Such are the two poles of human thought in the matter of moral education. Such they appeared to the Congress at The Hague. To define them or to recall them is not to simplify the problem; but this definition imposes itself at the threshold of all pedagogical research. According as the educator is optimist or pessimist—a little more, a little less—his method is different.

## CANALEJAS AND HIS RÔLE IN SPANISH POLITICS

"I SINCERELY believe that his political action has been exceedingly harmful to my country. I believe especially that, during the past three years, at the head of the government, he carried to extremes that anarchical tendency of power which M. Colson, in his recent book, shows to be one of the principal causes of the fatal disorder which ruins contemporary society." Thus writes Señor Salvador Canals, in the *Correspondent* (Paris), of the late Spanish premier, Don José Canalejas, who was assassinated by a professional anarchist on November 12, 1912.

Señor Canals was under-secretary of state in the Maura cabinet. He is a prominent member of the Spanish Conservative party and the editor of the *Nuestro Tiempo*. He

gives the following biographical data of the late premier:

Don José Canalejas was but fifty-eight years old. At a very early age he evinced a precocious and vibrant intelligence; at fifteen he translated and published some French romances and edited certain journals. This was a period of troublous disquietude: romanticism reigned in literature, rationalism in philosophy, and democracy in politics. Canalejas entered the conflict as a Republican, but with the group nearest the monarchy of Alfonso XIII. Elected deputy to the Cortes for the first time in 1881, he became under-secretary of state to the president of the council, in an ephemeral cabinet, with no other object than that of incorporating in the monarchy the group in question. Some time later this group associated itself with the Liberal party, of which Canalejas was one of the ministers from 1888 to 1890 and from 1894 to 1895. At this time and until 1899 he had no

special characteristic policy among the Liberals. He was one of their great orators, an extraordinary orator; one of their most cultivated intelligences; one of their busiest men; but, after all, only one among several at the side of Sagasta, with whom, as others, he had his hours of intimacy and his periods of disgrace. When, to overthrow the latter, he hoisted a personal flag, he had recourse simply to the opinion contradictory to that which for the moment had the preferences of the chief. In face of a financial plan directed toward budget economies, Canalejas preached the urgent necessity of a great army and a powerful navy. In face of a policy of autonomous reforms for the colonies, he took in hand the cause of the Cuban reactionaries who confided to the arms of the mother-country the fidelity of her distant territories.

At this period of the life of Canalejas, Señor Canals says he is able to detect neither socialism, radicalism, nor prepossession against any clerical danger whatsoever. On the contrary, when he [Canalejas] desired to form a separate band, he inclined rather to the Right than to the Left. These incidents show that "the Spanish clerical danger was not a reality but an artificial improvisation."

It was at the advent to power of the Liberals in 1901 that Canalejas entered upon the scene.

The Liberals were in power, the "clerical danger" was dissipated, and Sagasta knew the Spanish reality too well to carry the comedy further. Canalejas alone undertook to maintain the sacred fire. Through his journal, one of the most widely read in Spain, and by his flamboyant speeches he attacked the imaginary enemies and the real friends who accommodated themselves to the reaction. But he did not stop there; he added to the campaign called "anticlerical" a socialistic campaign, or, to put it more correctly, a campaign to excite the proletariat to an active participation in politics. This was fatal. Canalejas had always inclined towards imitation rather than towards creation. . . . His model was now M. Waldeck-Rousseau. And since there had been set up in France a clerical danger for the Republic and in face of it a law of exception and of war against the congregation at the same time as a direct participation of the Republican government in socialism, it became necessary to set up in Spain a clerical danger against liberty and in face of this an anti-congregationalist law and a direct participation in socialism on the part of the monarchy. This was quite simple, but our Waldeck-Rousseau not having a Millerand for his associate, it became necessary for Canalejas to combine in his own person his two models. . . . Sagasta, desiring to end the situation, took Canalejas into the Cabinet, thinking thus to do a good turn to anticlerical opinion. Canalejas became minister of commerce.

Later Canalejas quarreled with his colleagues in the cabinet and left the ministry of commerce. In a campaign in one of the most excitable regions of Spain he now declared himself a "scientific Republican." In the

election of 1903, thirty-six Republicans were successful. At the death of Sagasta the different groups of his party threw themselves, in imitation of Canalejas, deliberately into anticlericalism, although having different and even contradictory programs.

One group, led by Montero Rios, wished to subject the congregations to the common law, without breaking with Rome. Another, under Canalejas, proposed a law of exception against the congregations, either with or without Rome. A third, directed by Moret, inclined to leave the affair of the congregations alone and to seek safety in the laicization of the cemeteries and schools. The program of Canalejas was the most popular with the masses, since it was the most simple, the most practical, and the most dramatic. To break with Rome, to transport the monks to the frontier and despoil them of their goods—this vulgar interpretation of the program was more agreeable than laicization. . . . But when, in June, 1905, the Liberals were called to power neither of the three groups triumphed for the reason that they spent all their time fighting amongst themselves. At their fall the Republicans disdained them, but no sooner were the Conservatives installed in power than they became reconciled and the wing of the Lefts was formed with—always in the advanced guard—Canalejas.

When the Barcelona revolution occurred, the Maura cabinet was in power, but in the following February it was supplanted by that of Canalejas. The repression of the Barcelona outbreak had brought to every one in Spain a consoling, extraordinary surprise, but to the revolutionaries a profound terror.

To guard against similar surprises in the future the latter demanded of the Liberals—forty Republicans had been returned in the elections of 1901—all impunity still possible for the crimes of 1909, impunity for misdemeanors and ulterior crimes, suppression of capital punishment, and above all, the isolation and incapacitation from return to power of those who in 1909 had dared to respect and execute the repressive and defensive laws of society. And these demands were fully satisfied.

Señor Canals complains bitterly of subsequent happenings in this connection. Ferrer could not be resuscitated, but his anarchist library was restored to those who continued his work. One man condemned to death in 1909 lived quietly for three years in Barcelona and was elected to the municipal council, while another actually addressed a recent meeting in Madrid at which he denounced the Spanish monarchy as "a frightful tyranny." Señor Canals charges that whereas Canalejas had promised suppression of capital punishment, he meanwhile practically did so by pardoning all the condemned.

## THE MONTHLY AND WEEKLY PRESS OF GERMANY

THE German periodical whose name is probably best known in this country is the *Deutsche Rundschau*, a solid monthly review which is now nearing the close of two score years of publication. But it is seldom that the *Rundschau* offers matter of interest to the general reader outside of Germany. The historical strain is prominent in the latest number at hand. We have articles on "Pius II, a Pope of the Renaissance," on "The Secret Police at the Congress of Vienna," and on "Schleiermacher as Patriot and Politician." Science, art and philosophy also find place, and one piece of fiction is given as an appetizer. The *Preussische Jahrbücher* is more distinctly a scholarly publication, maintaining, in its 150th volume, the high standard for which it is noted. That two out of the six leading articles in its current issue deal with aspects of the woman question is a striking sign of the times. The others are on "Christianity and the Historical World Outlook," on "The Nepotism of Paul IV.," etc., on "The Status of the Middle German Small Farmers," and on "The Fundamental Evil of the Heresy Law"—sufficient indication that the magazine is not intended for babes or sucklings.

Of greatest interest outside of Germany is the monthly *Deutsche Revue*, most of which is devoted to the discussion of current affairs and of living questions. It frequently has authoritative articles from the pens of foreign statesmen or leaders, and has long made it a specialty to be the medium of promoting good

relations between Germany and England by the publication of articles of a pacific tendency, written for the *Revue* by leading Englishmen. There are, of course, a number of lesser German periodicals, some of them expressly devoted to Socialism or to some other special object, notably the *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, and the *Neue Zeit*, and the *Gleichheit*, the last named devoted to the interests of working women. A unique place in German journalism is occupied by *Die Zukunft*, the weekly edited by Maximilian Harden, and the medium through which he makes his startling and often brilliant criticisms of persons and things.

South Germany and Austria are most prominently represented by the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, published at Munich, and partaking both in its external appearance and in its contents, of a certain estheticism which belongs to the Bavarian capital, and the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, published at Vienna, and thoroughly identified with Austrian interests and the patriotic Austrian standpoint. This Austrian *Rundschau*, which appears twice a month, is naturally filled, as to its recent numbers, with the Balkan war. This subject is also represented in the already-mentioned *Deutsche Revue*, the leading article of this periodical, as well as that of its contemporary, being devoted to the relation of Austria to the Balkan situation. The substance of these two articles, which agree in general viewpoint, is given in the following abstract.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE BALKAN WAR

THE identity of the German and Austrian view points on the problems presented by the Balkan war is shown very clearly by two noteworthy articles on the war and Austria-Hungary's relations thereto, which appear in recent issues of the *Deutsche Revue*, of Berlin, and the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, of Vienna. The writer of the article in the German review, who signs himself an "Austrian Statesman," points out that Turkey remained "deaf to all warnings and entreaties to conclude peace with Italy so that she might bend her undivided efforts to strengthen herself for graver emergencies."

This writer then reviews the various Turkish promises for reform in Macedonia, all

of which failed of accomplishment. He points out that the ostensible object of the war on the part of the Balkan powers was to secure these reforms by making Macedonia, Novi Bazar, Albania, and Epirus autonomous. Since the fighting has been concluded, however, "it may well be doubted that the welfare of their kinsfolk is the only object for which the Balkan states are striving." It is frankly admitted by all of the allies that territory is their main object. Of course, the little Balkan nations would not be able to get their way in this matter were they not backed up by some great power—in this case Russia.

The Austrian writer, who has the endorse-



THE FUTURE GREATER SERVIA: AUSTRIA'S DREAD

(Map showing the enormous and solid mass of Servians stretching from Uskub to Trieste; also the nationalities in Macedonia and ethnological divisions)

ment of the German review, sets forth the Balkan policy of the Dual Monarchy in these words:

Nothing is further from the aims of Austria-Hungary than a policy of conquest. This has been repeatedly and most emphatically declared by Count Berchtold. Austro-Hungarian policy is naturally conservative and one of peace, but not a peace at any price. The Hapsburg monarchy has vital interests in the Balkans, which she must, under all circumstances, guard and preserve.

She will not be induced to engage in the present conflict as long as her *cordé sensible* is not touched; what that is was stated by Count Audrássy: "The rapprochement of Servia and Montenegro would place the means of communication in that region with the rest of the Orient in a condition prejudicial to the commercial interests of the Monarchy." It was for that reason that the right to garrison Novi Bazar was accorded to Austria by the terms of the Berlin Treaty.

History and geography indicate the aims of the Hapsburg Empire: an open road to Turkey

the maintenance of existing conditions on the shores of the Adriatic, the securing of its frontiers against turbulent neighbors. Come what may, it must be that Austria-Hungary, relying on its own strength and the support of its loyal allies, will know how to guard its interests, just as other powers have done in like junctures.

#### Austria versus Russia: That is the Problem

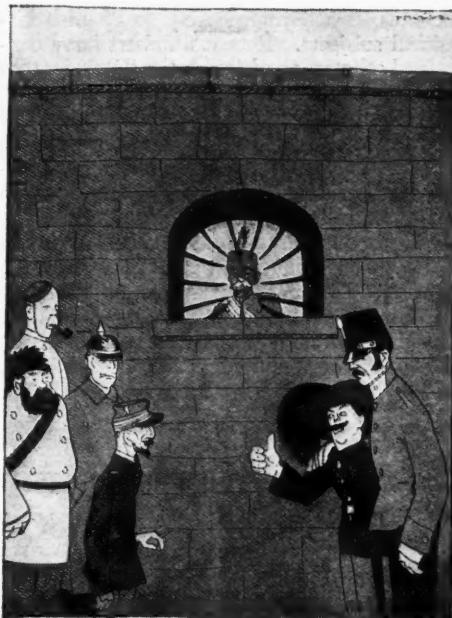
In an elaborate survey of Austro-Balkan and Austro-Russian relations, Baron von Chlumecky, editor of the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, says:

The world knows that the Czar's empire is not, at present, prepared for the great European passage at arms which may be impending. Austria's supposed plans of expansion in the Balkans tend to bring about a mistrust of her by Russia which is not justified by facts.

This Austrian writer admits that "the Southern Slavic question has long been crying for a final solution." He continues:

Mighty national forces are struggling for a reconstruction, and these struggles have created a situation which has become intolerable to Europe in general and the neighboring country, Austria, in particular. A decisive victory over the Turks threatens to tear up the paper wall that guards the *status quo*, and should that occur Austria will, *nolens volens*, be forced to announce her claims, which, trusting to her own powers and the faithful support of her German ally, she will have to defend, despite any European sensibilities. The farsighted program which was to give the army and navy the added strength generally recognized as essential, has, unfortunately, been, for the present, greatly curtailed, in order not to alarm the money-market and the tax payer.

The Dual Monarchy, the writer concludes, will not halt midway, for all know that an insufficient armament is worthless.



*SERVIA'S LITTLE WINDOW*  
Italy (to the great powers, pointing to landlocked Servia): "See here, my good friend, this is the way this window should be constructed. Both of us must be able to get in, but he—Servia—unable to get out.  
(This cartoon, from *Ulk*, Berlin, sets forth the Austro-Italian point of view as to the future of the Adriatic Sea. Servia must not have a port—lest she get out. Austria and Italy, however, must be free to act as they see fit)

A would-be equipment can not serve the purpose of a comprehensive economic policy, without which, again, the burdens of armament could not be borne. Adequate military provision, therefore, is calculated to give the necessary support to a practical economic and political policy. Austria must no longer pursue a policy of neglected opportunities.

## CURRENT PERIODICALS OF SPAIN

MOST of the Spanish reviews devote the major part of their contents to a discussion of topics of purely historical, scientific, or literary interest. The dignified *España Moderna* of Madrid, generally devotes a large proportion of its pages to translations, with scholarly annotations, of some piece of literature by a famous non-Spanish author. For some months this review has been giving its readers selected portions of Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer." It also prints scientific articles, papers reminiscent of characters in Spanish history, besides what the French call a *chronique*, or review of politics, letters, and art. In the first November number of *España Moderna* there is an article

on the "True Value of Scientific Discoveries," a condensation of which we print on the following page. A modern writer, Señor Pérez de Guzman, gives an extract from the book on "Trafalgar," which he is writing for the Royal Academy of History. This extract seems to be a painstaking account of the organization of the British navy at the time of the famous battle. In another number of this magazine the same author gives a comparison of educational methods of Latin and British civilizations. He criticizes the former and compliments the latter.

*Nuestro Tiempo*, edited by Salvador Canals, another serious review, but more varied in its contents than *España Moderna*, also

devotes its attention largely to Spanish historical subjects. Recent numbers have contained scholarly articles on the "Renaissance of Art in Spain" and "The Theatre in Spain." Both of these, however, deal with developments which ended at least one generation ago. A more modern article is one on Spanish laws relating to disposal of family property, and calling for more uniformity therein. *La Lectura* has an elaborate discussion of the place that Cervantes occupies in Spanish literature. This magazine also contains a lively account of a journey made by a modern Spaniard through Bolivia, and an appreciation of the work of the late Emperor of Japan.

The liveliest and most popularly edited of

the Spanish magazines is undoubtedly the *Hojas Selectas* (Selected Leaves), brought out by the famous publishing house of Salvat, in Barcelona. *Hojas Selectas* is finely illustrated. The December number contains an article entitled "The Nest of the Eagle," which is a description of Ajaccio, the Corsican town in which the great Napoleon was born. It also has a brief picture article on the manufacture of ozone, based on the work of some factory in St. Petersburg. One of the permanent, distinctive features of *Hojas Selectas* is a full page cartoon by the famous comic artist Opisso. We reproduce herewith the graphic comment of this comic artist on the Balkan situation.

## WHAT IS THE USE OF A SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY?

THE sort of general learned articles so characteristic of the contents of the more serious Spanish reviews is shown by a study in the November issue of *España Moderna*. Prof. Joaquin Olmedilla y Puig of the University of Madrid, writes on "The Value of Scientific Discoveries." The learned author

has laid the stores of classical and oriental literature under contribution to illustrate the history of scientific progress and discovery.

It is his opinion that only to observe the present status of science is to lack a complete understanding of its essence and value, thorough appreciation of which is only possible when we have traced the advance of science step by step, when we realize the obstacles that have been overcome in the path and the painful efforts and the many sacrifices of those who have built up the temple of science. Treating of this he says:

Many scientific discoveries have their roots in remote times, their origin having been sometimes merely casual, while at other times it has been due to the instinct, or to the superior talents of an individual, whose eagle eye has scanned the immensities of space; again, it may spring from a single happy moment of inspiration. . . . As a truly wonderful example we have the instance of Galileo, at the early age of nineteen, discovering the laws of the pendulum, by observing the oscillations of a lamp in the Cathedral of Pisa. But how many thousands before him had noted this simple and apparently insignificant fact without drawing any deductions from it! In order to find in it great and important data, the necessary thing was that such a brain should grasp this small fact. We may also note that many discoveries were half-apprehended at a much earlier period than is commonly supposed, and the question of priority of discovery is often hotly disputed, or it is matter of doubt whether indeed the glory of discovery can justly be awarded to any determined individual.



THE GREAT POWERS TRYING TO EXTINGUISH THE FLAME IN THE BALKANS  
(From the cartoon by Opisso in *Hojas Selectas*, Barcelona)

The learned Spanish writer here adduces the discovery by the Chinese of printing, gunpowder, the fixation of certain coloring materials, etc., before Europeans had advanced so far, although this ought not to lessen the

credit due to the later, but, nevertheless, original discoverers of the same or similar arts, materials or processes in Europe. Turning then to medical science, Señor Olmedilla asserts that primitive man rather sought the means of preventing disease than of curing it. The impossibility, through lack of knowledge, of explaining the true causes of illness led men to regard it as produced by some supernatural or mysterious agency, or as the punishment inflicted upon man for his sins by some divinity. Therefore, in process of time the priests came to be regarded as the sole depositaries of such scant medical knowledge as had been acquired, and asylums for the reception of those suffering from disease were to be found alongside of the temples.

The writer then gives many interesting historic facts touching different discoveries, citing as an instance of quasi-inspirational foresight certain lines attributed to the poet Lope de Vega, which may be translated: "Swift as lightning has the news arrived; who knows but that in time it will come with the lightning itself?" He also notes that although Friar Bawn is the popularly reputed

inventor of gunpowder (in Europe at least), this explosive was employed in siege operations in Spain before his time. The discovery of phosphorus, that of opium, that of chloroform, etc., and the gradual development of chemical science are themes passed in review. In conclusion, the writer defines the true value and significance of scientific discoveries in the following terms:

Many discoveries regarded as of prime significance at the time they were made, have little by little lost much of their importance, while others, of real and permanent worth, such as the discovery of the medicinal virtues of quinine, have gained in repute with the passage of time. Whoever devotes himself to the pursuit of scientific discovery must be ever on the alert to receive new impressions, and also sometimes to lay aside older theories, or to rectify them so as to bring them into accord with the latest knowledge. The real value of scientific discoveries lies essentially in their practical utility, and the test of this is their maintenance through succeeding generations, during which their worth has been tried in the crucible of practice, and this fact alone gives us the right to assert that any given discovery is really valuable and enables us to accord to any given discoverer the tribute of consideration justly his due.

## WHAT THEY READ IN LATIN AMERICA

LATIN America is not rich in periodical publications. There is a tendency, which as yet shows little disposition to change, to depend upon Europe for the more highly developed forms of entertainment and information. Then, too, the great Latin American newspapers, particularly those of South America, and very particularly *La Prensa* and *La Nación* of Buenos Aires and the *Jornal do Comercio* of Rio de Janeiro, greatly encroach upon the field which in the United States is left for the weekly and monthly publications.

It must be remembered also, in this connection, that the South American countries are in the fever of a mighty commercial development, naturally overshadowing the purely intellectual pursuits. Hence the constantly increasing number of publications known as "class journals." Buenos Aires is the greatest publishing center of Latin America. The number of publications of all kinds produced in that city is astounding; but they are almost invariably local and even parochial in their interests. The proportion of well-educated persons to the entire population of South America being small, the "popular" periodicals turn to pictorial display. In response to this demand have arisen such publications as *Caras y Caretas* and

"P. B. T." of Buenos Aires, and *O Malho, Tico-Tico* and *Fon-Fon!* of Rio de Janeiro. Lavish in illustration, these weeklies, nevertheless, confine themselves almost wholly to home activities; and an unpleasant reminder of the follies of American diplomacy toward the Southern republics can be found in the intransigently unfavorable attitude of these publications toward the Northern republic. For example, *Fon-Fon!* takes keen delight in rehearsing the recent police scandal of New York City incident to the Rosenthal murder and the Becker sentence. It coolly concludes that "the protection of public tranquillity [in the United States] is in the hands of thieves, bandits and assassins." *Sucesos*, of Valparaiso, Chile, and *Variedades*, of Lima, Peru, are of the same order. The University publications, emanating from Santiago de Chile, Córdoba, La Plata, Bogotá, etc., are well edited and contain much valuable and interesting matter, the result of competent research work and scientific experimentation; but these, of course, are narrowly restricted in their circulation. It cannot be said that the Latin countries, from Mexico to Chile, are at this time making great progress in the development of a responsive and significant periodical literature.

## ROOSEVELT IN BRAZILIAN EYES

**I**N Brazilian metaphor the United States is the Colossus of the North; she—Brazil—is the Giant of the South. Some day Latin America is going to appreciate the informing spirit of life in the United States. And in that day misapprehensions will be over with once for all.

Now, nobody has done more than a certain brilliant Brazilian essayist, Euclides da Cunha, to ridicule the bogie of "Yankeeism" and interpret the real intentions of this terrible Colossus of the North.

In a recent conversation with a *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* reader in Brazil, a Rio Janeiro journalist said: "We used to think the Monroe Doctrine was the Americas for the United States, but Euclides da Cunha has shown us clearly that it is the Americas for all the Americans."

Euclides da Cunha has admitted in an essay upon Roosevelt's "Ideal American" that the ground for fear may be different from that which usually obtains. He says:

The fact is, that Roosevelt in analyzing the dangers which threaten the great Republic has illuminated conditions by a vivid picture of South American anarchy. So, while we recoil in terror from the bogie of the "Yankee peril," this strenuous apostle of effectiveness holds up before Yankee eyes the peril of South Americanism. We are afraid of their strength, but they run in dread from our weakness. Unhappily for us this paradoxical cowardice of the Colossus of the North is much more justifiable than our own infantile terrors.

Of Roosevelt's "Ideal American," Euclides da Cunha says again:

It is not so much primarily a book for the United States; it is a book for Brazil. Our public men ought to do much more than go over it day and night; they ought to get its most incisive lines by heart, just as architects set themselves to memorize the necessary formulas for stress and strain. The book is an incomparable expression of social virility and political honor, and for us above all it is imperative to take his words to heart. Without stopping to think, almost as a reflex action, in fact we copied the Constitutions of the North Americans, disregarding the most elementary notions of our historic growth, our traditions and our character. Therefore while we may recognize the advantages of such a governmental form, we should compel ourselves to see its evils too, applying as they do with such particular force to our present conditions and national qualities.

Now the essayist passes on to an aspect even more sinister: the peril of *caudalismo*. Local oligarchs in Brazil have made a farce of suffrage and a mock of federal unity alike. The old Emperor Dom Pedro II did what he could to bridge the chasm—and that was

little enough—but under a succession of presidents with little inclination to resort to arms, local independence has sprung into a local insolence infinitely difficult to handle without appeal to the Charybdis of dictatorship. Realizing the danger, Euclides da Cunha returns again to Roosevelt for his text.

This intrepid moralist forces yet another lesson upon us—the necessity for a broad patriotism, a vigorous national sentiment as against a disintegrating provincialism. Comprehending the real function of a federal government as we Brazilians, alas, do not, he attacks the malignant spirit of sectionalism and once again appears to aim a thrust at the abject chroniclers of South America. Roosevelt treats of an evil in full retreat in the United States, although still containing elements of menace, but here among us it grows daily, spreading itself in every direction, actually threatening warfare over state boundaries and making our internecine strife a matter of world-wide ridicule while we sit idly by.

For Euclides da Cunha himself, however, there is another vice greater even than *caudalismo*. He insists on dragging again and again before unwilling eyes the crime of what he calls a "Borrowed Civilization,"—a fatuous and illusive civilization because it does not fit the inherent needs of the people; a civilization built up on borrowed ideas and financed on borrowed gold. We quote again:

Worse even than a sectional partisanship in Roosevelt's eyes is that so-called cosmopolitanism which makes a man a virtual immigrant in his native country, living fatuously out of touch with life in the fiction of a borrowed civilization. Yet there seems little enough to account for Roosevelt's insistence upon this matter. The North American is an absorber and dominator of civilizations. He supplants them at will and moulds them to his own robust individualism—in other words he Americanizes them. It is for us South Americans that these pages seem to have been written, crowded as they are with bitter irony, for to us it must be repeated even to monotony that it is worth more to be original than to be a copy, however good the copy, and that to be a Brazilian at first hand, simply a Brazilian, is worth fifty times as much as being a servile copy of a Frenchman or an Englishman.

Euclides da Cunha cannot fail to admire. Every predisposition of a musical language and an ornate style is forgotten in the presence of a man who having something to say—does not hesitate to say.

Roosevelt is but a mediocre stylist. Everywhere he sacrifices form to clearness, not so much writing as instructing. All his greatness is in reflecting the philosophy of to-day, not in producing it *de novo*. His whole concern, in fact, is with the practical value of what he says. At first he seems

to be only demonstrating truisms, but little by little he comes to grip and dominate us. There is some irresistible enchantment in this crusader, Rough-Rider and Quaker combined, fighting the battles of energy, honesty and sound sense, so that although concerned primarily with the destiny of his own country, he puts before us in the end the indispensable conditions of life and health in all countries."

Here is a clarity, an honesty and a fearless self-analysis that must yet be reckoned with in the evolution of Brazil. Just such openness makes possible the attitude of a writer—Jose Custodio Alves Lima—in a recent article in the *Jornal de Comercio*, Brazil's greatest newspaper, and, all things considered, one of the best in the Western Hemisphere. Senhor Lima says:

The rumored visit of ex-President Roosevelt to our country is a fact of so much importance to

us in this formative period that we cannot deny ourselves the opportunity of saying something about this American of world-wide reputation. This is the man of whom it came to be publicly said in the United States, 'Elle nao tem papas na lingua,' (Freely translated: He speaks without fear or favor; literally: He has no milk-sops on his tongue.) Others cried: 'He is almost mad; he lacks the composure of a public official—all the same, the country moves. We'd better put up with him. He is of a restless and active temper, always spoiling for a fight, in American phraseology; but such is his love of openness that this Teddy Roosevelt, as the people call him, brought in a new department in his administration. In place of Machiavellianism, frankness; in place of hypocrisy, sincerity. There were no secrets between him and the public. Benjamin Franklin made the maxim: "Honesty is the best policy," but Roosevelt substituted "frankness" in its stead. This has all the while been the touchstone of his success as as a man, whether private or public.

## WHAT ITALIANS ARE READING IN THEIR MAGAZINES

THERE is evident an increasing tendency in Italian reviews to print articles on subjects of current political and economic interest. The topics evidently most in favor with the more serious Italian reviews during the past few months have apparently been the Tripolitanian war, the Balkan war, the effect of emigration, agricultural problems, Dante, Crispi, Garibaldi, and financial reform. *Nuova Antologia*, a semi-monthly of Rome, edited for a decade by Senator Maggiorino Ferraris, is the acknowledged chief of the more dignified monthlies. The *Antologia* has been publishing a series of biographical articles on Crispi, and some literary studies of Dante. A tribute to Italian dramatic art is found in Giuseppe Deabate's article, in the second November number, on the bi-centenary celebration of the Turin theater. An absolutely free university is discussed by Signor Filippo Vassalli, Professor of the Royal University of Perugia. He thinks that the free university will be the future form of higher instruction. A number of writers congratulate the Italian army and navy upon the conclusion of the war with Turkey. Professor Luigi Villari compliments the British administration in India, and suggests that in planning the future government for Tripoli Italy could learn much from British colonial experience.

*Rassegna Nazionale*, published every two weeks in Florence, devotes a great deal of

space to religious and philosophical topics. In the last three numbers it publishes an article on the Eucharistic Congress, and three on Christian apologetics. A brief article on the Putumayo rubber scandal in Peru gives special attention to the new Catholic missions installed in that region. The second November number also has a reply to a recent article in *Coenobium*, the "intellectual organ of the intellectual controversialists against orthodox Christianity" (Lugano), on denominationalism. The current number of *Coenobium* opens with the "Confessions of faith," by the well-known Protestant pastor Wilfred Monod, who insists that the religious revival in Europe is dependent: First, upon the ruin of dogmatism, and second, upon the triumph of Socialism. The *Civiltà Cattolica*, the organ of the Vatican, among other studious articles, has an analysis of the late William James's religious psychology. Admitting his "scientific honesty", it combats most of his views. The *Vita Internazionale*, the fortnightly of Rome, edited by the well-known educator, Professor Moneta, tries to exonerate his country in the Tripolitanian war matter. Other serious Italian reviews, like the *Rivista Internazionale*, the *Rivista d'Italia*, and the *Riforma Sociale*, the first two published in Rome, the last in Turin, contain articles of a general nature on economic and political topics. Among the more popular monthlies are: *Italia* (Turin), *La Lettura* (Rome),

which are illustrated. The second has long illustrated articles on "The Death Struggle of an Empire" (Turkey), "How an Army is Victualed in War Time," the suicide of General Nogi, the daily life of d'Annunzio, a study of the long period of peace in Europe between the Treaty of Vienna and the Crimean War; and both print a good illustrated descriptive article of the deal of fiction.

## HOW TRIPOLI LIES ACROSS THE TRADE ROUTES

NOW that Italy's occupation of Tripoli has been rendered permanent and final, the attention of her statesmen is naturally turned to the utilization of this new possession. Its boundaries are not as yet clearly defined, and estimates of its extent vary widely, from a little over 300,000 square miles to nearly twice as much. The region may be roughly divided into two main zones, one embracing Tripoli and Cyrenaica properly so-called, and the other the wide stretches of country beyond these, the "hinterland." The benefits likely to accrue from the occupation of the former of these zones are already obvious and Italian industry and enterprise will readily be enlisted in the work of development, but the value of the hinterland is less generally acknowledged. This is the subject of a brief but suggestive article by Signor E. Oberti in the second November number of the *Rassegna Nazionale*. Treating primarily of the commercial importance of the region, he says:

The good intentions of civilized nations are often subject to the inevitable contingencies springing from geographic and historic fatality, and these all favor Tripoli and Cyrenaica. This was already realized not many years ago by the German explorer Rholfs, who, zealous for the future and greatness of his native land, traversed, explored and appraised our Lybian hinterland, and more recently the same judgment has been passed by the competent French commissioner to the Central Sudan, M. Gentil, who wrote: "The commerce of the Sudan is entirely in the hands of the Tripolitanians, and it would entail great danger to our possessions in Tunis to seek to supplant them."

Over against the greater proximity of the Sudan to the Gulf of Guinea and to the middle Nile Valley, must be set the intrinsic value of the Mediterranean, that fatal center of attraction for nationalities, civilizations and commerce. If now we consider communication between the countries of Central Europe and the Sudan, we shall find that the shortest route is by way of the Sahara and

the Mediterranean. An article of commerce which has reached any of the Mediterranean ports such as Tripoli, Bengasi, Tunis or Gabes, can soon get to Genoa or Marseilles and enter Central Europe by way of the Simplon or the Rhone. It will be said that the great difficulty is precisely in reaching Tripoli, Bengasi, Tunis or Gabes, for as a fact the caravans require from three to five months, according to the route, to traverse the Sahara; but this time can be greatly shortened by constructing railroad branches, and by a better organization and a more effective protection of the caravans themselves:

The traffic of northeastern Africa is all in the hands of Mohammedans, who for centuries have considered the Mediterranean and the Red Sea as the natural outlets of Sudanese commerce, and who are strongly attached to the traditional means of transport afforded by the caravans, because it best accords with their needs and interests. Hence should any power seek to draw Sudanese commerce along the route of the Gulf of Guinea, it would never be able to supplant the caravan traffic, and could only succeed in creating a competition injurious to all and a dangerous antagonism of interests with the dwellers in the hinterland of the Mediterranean, who depend upon the caravan traffic for their livelihood. It would therefore be much better that the powers having colonies in northern Africa should pursue, sustain and foster this ancient caravan traffic toward the Mediterranean.

The delimitation of the new Italian colony will probably give rise to considerable diplomatic negotiation with France and England, as while the best and easiest of the caravan routes are those traversing the hinterland of this colony, to maintain the bulk of this traffic under Italian control so that it may be directed to their ports, necessitates the possession of the more important of the oases along the route. However, certain of these oases lay within territory the ownership of which by Turkey has been a matter of dispute either with France, or with England as representing Egyptian interests. Italy will soon discuss their future with these powers.



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## THE ITALIAN CONQUERORS OF TRIPOLI MARCHING ALONG THE OLD TRADE ROUTES

(The advance guard of the Italian army in Tripoli marching southward over one of the old caravan routes)

## THE MONTHLIES AND WEEKLIES OF SCANDINAVIA

**T**IMELINESS seems to count for very little in the make-up of our Scandinavian contemporaries. While the American editors look a little myopically toward their own time and country, their colleagues in the north of Europe seem to turn with preference to whatever lies at a distance either in time or space. There has been a tendency to change in this respect of late, however, and probably under the influence of spiritual currents originating in this country. Without abandoning their genuinely valuable researches in the fields of thought and science, art and letters, the Scandinavian periodicals have grown more and more prone to offer their readers far-reaching studies of vital political and social problems. A sample of the new method of writing is given among our leading articles of this month, a Swedish summary of the new, socialistic and democratic conservatism now developing in that country. Among other articles of note in recent issues of Scandinavian periodicals may

be mentioned one on "Political Freedom and the Franchise," by Dr. Arthur Christensen in *Gads Danske Magasin* (Copenhagen); a study of the English movement for the scientific housing of workmen in England, by E. H. Thörnberg in *Det Nya Sverige* (Stockholm); another study of the results of proportional representation in the new Swedish Riksdag, by Ernst Höijer in the same publication; a comprehensive and well-informed article on "Modern Painting at Home and Abroad," by Carl V. Petersen in *Tilskueren* (Copenhagen), and a survey of the just completed American campaign, presidential, by Professor Belydan Koht in *Samtiden* the review of Christiania.

Other well known Scandinavian reviews are *Ord och Bild*, an illustrated monthly of Stockholm, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, also of the Swedish capital, and *Kringsjaa*, the eclectic review of Christiania. The daily journal, *Politiken*, of Copenhagen, is well known all over Europe for the excellent literary character of its articles and for the authority of its editorials.

## THE NEW CONSERVATISM

THE new "Tory Democracy" of England has its counterparts in almost every country, our own not excepted, where today there are many who undoubtedly deserve such a classification. But no country seems to offer a more palpable parallel to this striking movement in modern English politics than does Sweden. Echoing distinctions that go as far back as the French revolution, the Swedish conservative party has always been known as the "Right," and now this almost paradoxical outgrowth of a tendency supposed to be wholly reactionary takes the name of the "Young Right," under which name it is interestingly described in *Det Nya Sverige* (Stockholm) by the editor of that periodical, Adrian Molin.

Of course, "tory democracy" and "imperialism" are not identical, but the distinction between them is very fine. Or, perhaps it would be better to say that those two terms represent the same movement dealing with different questions, but in such manner that "imperialism" proper stands more for "toryism" than for "democracy." Now what in England or here appears as "imperialism" becomes in a smaller country like Sweden a sort of exaggerated nationalism, an ambition to build up an empire not out of conquered acres but out of new abilities and internal achievements.

To the gibe often uttered against them, that, as a party, they are "invisible," the "Young Rightists" of Sweden reply that they do not stand for a party but for a "collective designation of certain contemporary tendencies." And principal among these tendencies is undoubtedly a recognition of the inevitable future development along some kind of socialistic lines. Like the older form, this new conservatism stands, above all, for a strong national defense and a raising of patriotism above all other feelings. But unlike the older conservatism, the new one proposes to solve rather than to resist those modern movements which have come to form our foremost "social problems," namely, the labor movement and the extension of democratic control to wider and wider fields of social activity. And what it seems to imply, at bottom, is an acceptance of the socialistic demand for "public ownership of the means of production," with a proviso placing the "public" end of it, the government, in the hands of "the nation's ablest men." In other words, it means an aristocratically guided state socialism—something

that has long been shaping itself on the horizons of modern social thinkers, either as a hope or as a menace.

The motto of the old conservatism used to be: Defense and social preservation. The cry of the new conservatism, according to Mr. Molin, is: defense and social reform. And as the originator and first leader of the movement in Sweden, he designates the well-known historian Harald Hjärne, while as its philosopher he mentions a young "savant" and critic, Vitalis Nordström. In his attacks on the radical parties in Sweden, Mr. Norström has first of all maintained the insufficiency of their main rallying cry, that of "freedom." This cry is to him, as to many other of the younger thinkers in Europe, wholly empty and leads to nothing but a purely negative social dissatisfaction.

The third leader of the movement, and its foremost champion in the field of practical propaganda, is Rudolf Kjellén, one of those characteristically Swedish temperaments, like that of Strindberg, which aims at nothing less than the embracing of the whole field of possible human consciousness. Among the subjects he has dealt with besides political ones, are lyrical and musical criticism, geography and geology, history, sociology and statistics. He is described as a man with a burning imagination and a passion for truly constructive work.

"This 'young' conservatism is fearfully academical," says Mr. Molin, and it sounds as if he might be talking about American rather than Swedish politics. "And it is very easy to make fun of this fact. But may it not mean that the thoughts which are to lead mankind and our time onward must grow in the brains of scientists and thinkers?"

Turning to what is most essential in the programme of the "young" conservatives, Mr. Molin points at once to the growing dissatisfaction everywhere with the old-fashioned, purely English system of parliamentary representation. What is to take its place is not yet clear, but there is an increasing tendency to seek the desired solution in occupational, as opposed to geographical representation. In this connection it is of the utmost interest to notice how, on one side, these new-fangled conservatives touch hands with the syndicalistic movement further down in the social hierarchy, while, on the other, in their negative attitude toward abstract freedom, they consciously side with the most intelligent part of the socialistic move-

ment. In other words, it looks as if elements long held to be wholly incompatible might approach a fusion within this incipient party of the new brain aristocracy.

This antipathy toward parliamentarism in the old sense,

will probably go on increasing with every passing year, the more ignorance and lack of culture find a chance to assert themselves, the more modest the achieved results become, and the more plainly it is seen that the nation's really vital questions, especially the economical ones, are not settled in legislative halls, but in the offices of banks, large corporations and labor organizations, with more or less active coöperation on the part of the government chosen by the people. At the same time the importance of the executive branch of the government will undoubtedly increase, for the simple

reason that, as the social problems grow more and more complicated, the men in charge of the routine will more and more come to stand for expert knowledge, as juxtaposed to legislative ignorance.

The time to prophesy about impending developments has not yet come, in the opinion of Mr. Molin, but he feels certain that all immediately impending developments will make for a concentration of power in the executive branch of the government, while the next task of its legislative branch will be not so much to govern as—to use his own words—"to react." With this term he has in mind the production of a political friction which will lead to the sloughing off of the present form of representation, and to a substitution of new forms along the lines already suggested.

## THE BRAVE, BUT CENSORED RUSSIAN PRESS

**A**S a partial compensation for the interdiction by the censor of articles of timely and vital interest to modern Russia, the periodicals of the Czar's empire present to their readers many articles of fine literary and philosophic value. The *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth), one of the best known reviews of the empire, is published at St. Petersburg, under the editorship of Vladimir Korolenko, the well-known novelist. This is an ultra-radical monthly which devotes as much space as the censor will permit to articles on economic and social conditions of different classes of European society, with occasional ventures into Russian affairs. By nature Korolenko is a social revolutionist and occasionally makes bold to assure the nominally free press in Russia that it really is not free. As a matter of fact, it is more gagged and bound than formerly, and the papers are full of accounts of journals suppressed and editors sent to jail.

In the recent issues of the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* there are articles on a number of "historically distant and safe subjects" including "The Crisis of the French Democracy," "The Peasant Revolt in the Reign of Nicholas I," "Poland before the Revolt of 1830," "Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Democratic Ideal of Life," and "The Crisis of Belgian Liberalism." An article entitled "Behind the Bars" ventures some mild observations on life in Russian political prisons and a gently progressive attitude is adopted in an article on "Socialism and National Assimilation." The *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought) another monthly of St.

Petersburg, is edited by Peter Struve, the famous Liberal. This magazine is the organ of the Constitutional Democrats—the "Cadets." It also considers such safe topics as "The Spirit of the French Army at the Time of the Revolution" and "The Origin of Languages." It publishes, however, at the same time, solid and informational articles on "How Does Russian Industry Develop?" and "Small Rural Credit and Its Needs."

The *Vestnik Evropy* (The European Messenger), the Liberal organ of St. Petersburg, is one of the most literary of the serious Russian magazines. It is among the oldest also, and is generally free from any partisan bias. In the recent numbers it considers "A Page from Russian Agrarian History," "The Land Question in the Baltic Provinces," "Women in Russian Universities," "The National Question in Russia," and "What is Byzantine Art?" The *Sovremenny Mir* (Modern World), another St. Petersburg monthly, is the organ of the Social Democrats. It is fond of articles on economic and industrial topics. A current number, has articles on "The High Cost of Living," "The Inner Tragedy of Tolstoy as the Basis of His Teachings," and "The Suicide Problem," which, it appears, is as pressing in Russia as it is in Germany. There are a host of weeklies in Russia, the most distinguished of them at present being the fighting, aggressive organ of the Constitutional Democrats, the *Zaprosy Zhizni*. (Demands of the Age) Current numbers consider "The Minimum Wage," "The Rôle of Art in Contemporary Life," and "The Strike Movement in Russia."

Current Russian thought is found very largely in the daily newspapers of Moscow and St. Petersburg. We have quoted from time to time from the best known of these, among which we should not forget to mention the nationalists and generally realistic organ the *Novoye Vremya*, publish at the capital. The following article on Russia's unpreparedness for a firm stand in the Balkans is condensed from a long paper in this journal. The *Ryetch* is also a well known daily.

## RUSSIA'S UNPREPAREDNESS FOR A FIRM STAND IN THE BALKANS

**R**EADERS more or less familiar with the Balkan problem must have been wondering at the peaceful attitude Russia has so far maintained in the present crisis in the Near East. Is it an indication of Russia's desire for peace? This does not seem to be the case. Russia's reasons for peace can be gathered from an article by the famous journalist, Menshikov in the *Novoye Vremya* (St. Petersburg). Menshikov is one of the best Russian journalists and his knowledge of Russian conditions is unsurpassed. He says:

How painful it is for us Russians to realize that with all the immensity of our natural resources we, the only Slav Empire, are again unprepared; again we cannot stir, and the great historical question of liberating the Slav race from the Turkish yoke is being solved without our participation. What is more, we may yet be forced to act against Slav interests. The great powers to which the Slavs are no dearer than negroes already declare that they will not permit any territorial changes in the Balkan Peninsula. Consequently, Slav Macedonia, which suffers in Turkish slavery, will have to suffer till doomsday, even if the Slav kingdoms should succeed in defeating the oppressors and drive them out of Europe. In this case the great Christian powers, evidently, would march their armies against the Slavs and would more than restore the Ottoman government at Constantinople. . . . The shameful policy of the European diplomacy with regard to Crete is evidently going to be repeated in the case of Macedonia. . . . Is it possible that Russia will be compelled to join in this policy which is as unnatural as it is dishonorable? Is it possible that Russia will subscribe to the threat to preserve the status quo by force? It seems to me if our Greek-Catholic empire cannot assume the rôle of guardian-angel of the Balkan brethren, we must not, at any rate, join their executioners. The Montenegrin, Bulgarian and partly Greek armies . . . have always been regarded as the natural vanguards of Russia in case of war with Turkey, and may be not only with Turkey. If so, then Russia also has always been looked upon as the main Slav force that is obliged to protect its vanguards.

Continuing, this Russian writer argues in this vein:

Oh, if Russia were only in a state of full preparedness! At this time of crisis it is appalling to see to what extent our unpreparedness has impaired the world power of Russia. Yet 150 years ago, in the reign of Catherine, our voice was heard in Turkey above the European concert, for it was more than

once accompanied by the thunder of cannon. Yet sixty years ago we dictated our will to Turkey, who was then in possession of all her European and African territories. But for the last decades we have been rapidly losing ground and have been reduced to a second and even a third place: small, as compared with us, Austria and still smaller Italy are not afraid to annex whole states of the Ottoman empire, and we do not dare even stop the Turkish pressure upon Urmiah, for instance. . . . It seems our government, our nationalist-thinking public and our parliament ought to inquire thoroughly into the causes that brought about such a state of affairs. Why are we so miserably reduced in our sovereign rôle? Why is it that eight years after the war we cannot even furnish ourselves with proper military equipment, a mere trifle when we have a budget of three milliards of rubles? . . .

The main cause of Russia's decline the writer sees in that

Russia—not excepting our splendid diplomats who can wear a monocle as well as Aehrenthal or Berchtold—suffers from provincialism peculiar to backward countries, the provincialism of narrow understanding, which, maybe, does not exclude a clear understanding of details. In universal life in general, besides the daily and monthly processes there are undoubtedly going on the processes of ages and these very processes are least of all understood by us, although all their formulas, all their individual facts and manifestations cannot have any satisfactory explanation.

The starting point of Russia's life policy, if it were correctly understood by us, is the lack of a South and an open sea. We are too satiated with the North and wearied with the East. . . . Peter the Great was right: delay is like unto death. For a century we had occupied ourselves with European politics and had neglected our national, and we lagged, miserably lagged in all paths of culture and our worldly significance has been decreasing. Not having taken possession of the desert lands in Asia and the warm shores, we have lived to a day when those lands and shores are in the "sphere of influence" of more enterprising races. . . . And not only is the fundamental need of our race—a warmer climate and access to the ocean—not satisfied; not only is the fate of the Slav race in general not settled; but even our present position in both continents is beginning to be disputed by the ever growing insolence of the neighbors. . . .

Mr. Menshikov concludes with the advice not to depend upon the words of the diplomats. "Prepare a more convincing form of speech than the speech of cannon."

## WHAT ARE THEY READING IN THE BALKANS?

**S**INCE the revolution of 1908 the Turkish periodical press has become an important factor in political, social and scientific movements. There has been a radical change from the most despotic censorship, which even forbade the publication of anything about a presidential election in the United States, to the present situation, when hundreds of well informed journals and more than a score of serious and well written illustrated monthlies and weeklies are constantly coming from the press, to say nothing of all kinds of literature in more permanent form—fiction, poetry, philosophy, history, sociology, political economy and science.

Perhaps the most important illustrated weekly of Constantinople is the *Serveti Finoum* (Arts and Sciences). Among the articles in the last few numbers of this periodical there may be mentioned the following titles: "Trades Unions in Turkey," "Bacteriology and Hygiene" and "The Presidential Election in the United States." There is also a careful illustrated study of "The American University" with special reference to Columbia, by Emin Bey, a Turkish student at that institution. The *Mulkie* is a monthly devoted to political science, with university men and government officials among its chief contributors and readers. Articles in recent numbers have considered "The Spirit of Science," "Our Municipalities" and "Democracy in Social Education." The *Ressimli Kitab* (Illustrated Book) is a radical, modern, up to date periodical. The last number available contains a radical article: "The Emancipation of Our Women and the Question of the Veil," which is a vigorous defense of the Turkish woman. The writer stoutly maintains that "her morals can be protected without the veil." This article has aroused a good deal of adverse comment from the conservative clergy. The *Shehval*, a semi-monthly, deals with social progress, literature, and criticism. The *Turk Yourdou* (Turkish Home) is a literary, historical, and financial magazine which in recent numbers, discusses quite frankly "The Troubles of the Fatherland" and "The Turk Looking for a National Soul." All of these are published in Constantinople. Besides there is a well edited, vigorous, daily press, some of the opinions of which—on the consequences of the present war—we quote later.

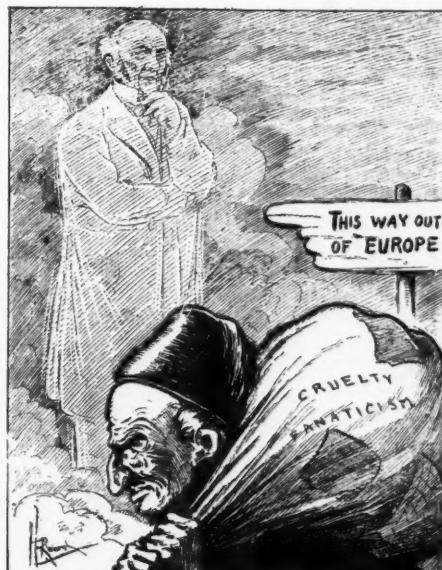
In Greece there has recently been a revival of periodical literature which is chiefly nationalistic and pan-Hellenic. Among the

most influential of the Greek monthlies (all of Athens) are *Pan-Athena*, a critical review of European and Greek literature. The *Parnassos* and the *Hellas* are illustrated weeklies of a general scope. The Greek daily press is very nationalistic.

It may be said that Bulgarian periodical literature has progressed in the same proportion as has the military and educational science in that country. The daily journals, however, are more influential than the magazines. The *Mir*, of Sofia, is the best known daily, well edited, with a good grasp of general European politics, but particularly well informed on European politics. The *Mir*, apparently, has a soft spot for the Turk, recognizing his good, as well as his bad qualities. The *Vestcherna Posta* is an evening daily of the Bulgarian capital widely read.

The Servian daily press is best represented by the *Samou Prava* and the *Politika*. The first is the recognized organ of the Servian jingoes.

In Rumania the *Dimineatza* and the *Correspondance Roumaine*, both of Bucharest, are the leading journals, always evincing that characteristic Roumanian self-consciousness and usually progressive in politics, literature and science.



SHADE OF GLADSTONE: "AT LAST!"  
Whatever they are reading in the Balkans, this is what they  
are thinking

From *Daily Star* (Montreal)

## SOME TURKISH OPINION ON BALKAN PEACE

THE daily press of the Ottoman capital is very bitter in its comments on European charges against Turkey and the Turkish military forces of cruelty and barbarism. In a vigorous leader entitled "Calumnies! Calumnies!!" the *Jeune Turc* says:

They [the allies] apparently believe that, since Europe is Christian and Turkey Moslem, the present is an excellent occasion for making the masses of the continent believe that the Turks are constantly massacring Christians. . . . They inform their readers that Christians are being slaughtered in the streets of Constantinople. This is falsehood to the limit. We invite the ambassadors of the great powers to investigate sparingly, and then say if a hair of a Bulgar head has been harmed.

In another article which has been headed "The Right to Live" the same journal says the allies oppress:

The allies oppress and exterminate in their own countries all other nationalities, and pretend to be the liberators of their countrymen under the Ottoman flag. If the principle of "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples" is to be observed, will Europe permit the Turks, Albanians, and Kutzö-Valachs who, combined, are in a majority in Macedonia, to be oppressed by the so-called civilizing allies? European officials and newspaper correspondents attest that the Servians are "civilizing" the country which they have overrun by murder, incendiarism, and attacks on women. . . . The "civilizing" work of the Bulgars has been so much appreciated by the peasants of Thrace that they have, one and all, fled to escape from their "liberators." Is it necessary to remind the world of the atrocities

committed by the Hellenic army against the Turks and Valachs in Epirus and the Jews in Salonica?

The *Jeune Turc* discusses at length the questions of an armistice and a final treaty of peace. It reminds the allies that the Turk is not at the end of his resources, and that to inflict a humiliating peace upon him would be unwise as well as unchristian. Advising the allies, and particularly Bulgaria, to be reasonable, and referring to the identity of interests between Turkey and the Balkan States, the *Jeune Turc* advocates the entry of Turkey into the Balkan federation. It says:

A serious entente between all the European, Oriental nations is possible. It will then be an Oriental power, as opposed to the Occident. . . . The only condition is an honorable peace. . . . Let our adversaries think this well over. Such a union will become very strong if Turkey participates in it. . . . This is our desire, we want sincerely a peace forever, because we want to start seriously and without interruption to work toward our ultimate happiness and prosperity. . . . The Bulgars are reputed to be sane and practical and not to believe in utopias. . . . Let them show that they are really so. . . . If we were forced to fight to the end, we will do so because our resources are endless and our military situation is improving, while our enemy's is weakening, as proven at Tchatalja; but our interest and our position in the Balkans must be somewhat maintained—otherwise we shall not enter the Balkan Confederation—which we consider as a barrier against European encroachment in the Levant. Bulgaria knows where her interests are; she is reasonable and we can agree with her.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

KURDISH REINFORCEMENTS TO THE TURKISH ARMY READY TO CROSS THE BOSPHORUS TO EUROPE

## WHAT EUROPE THINKS OF PRESIDENT-ELECT WILSON

THE significance of the presidential election in November is the subject of a good deal of more or less well balanced comment in the press of Europe. All the opinion, however, almost without exception, is closed with a eulogy of president-elect Woodrow Wilson as a new sort of man for the American chief magistrate. The comment is taken to mean that Wilson is a new type in American politics, the type set forth by the *Westminster Gazette*, of London, in an article which it entitles "The College President." This British journal speaks editorially of "this experiment of the philosopher king made in the most unlikely quarter of the world."

Europe is familiar with public men taken from the universities. Oxford has long been the cherished mother of British statesmen, but Europeans are more vividly aware than many Americans seem to be how great a novelty it is in the United States, when, as the *Westminster Gazette* puts it further, "the learned historian, professor, and ex-college president walks into the White House." Of course, Dr. Wilson did not step directly from Princeton to Washington. He did good service to the State of New Jersey in the meantime. But the college president in politics is an idea that will not yield to the European mind.

British comment is well represented by the sentences we have already quoted from the *Westminster Gazette*, and the following, from that serious weekly, the *Spectator*:

Though he bears the label of the Democratic Party and would probably be horrified by our describing him as a Conservative, he is none the less a Conservative by nature and invention—of course, meaning thereby a statesman of moderation and sound sense. He is also a man whose mind has been trained in dealing with wide issues in a wide way. No one can accuse him of having allowed his intelligence to be sapped by the endless iteration of party claptrap, or by fixing his attention solely on party issues. He is an historian and a political philosopher in the best sense, and he will, we may be sure, never be ensnared by the pitfalls which engulf so many machine-made politicians—men who believe that their nostrums are really new, and that no one before them has been faced with political difficulties so tremendous and so subtle. Experience of the past may sometimes paralyze a man for action, but it unquestionably steadies him, and what America wants just now is steadying.

A sympathetic appreciation by Professor Alfred L. P. Dennis, appears in the current

*Contemporary Review*, of London, the substance of which is contained in the paragraph which we quote below.

I doubt if he knows how dominant he is. In serener years, at Princeton as University President, and as the Governor who led New Jersey once more to be a respectable political community, he has shown a force, an obstinacy, an uncompromising quality which deserve consideration. We are still to learn how well the next President can be a part of a national, an imperial government. It is encouraging that the American people have begun to believe in Mr. Wilson; it is essential that he shall be able to hold in allegiance the chief lieutenants in his party. These will be sorely puzzled at times to understand, especially if they do not always approve, some of his plans; and in entering the White House Mr. Wilson is also entering a school of patience. A more or less willing coöperation is fundamental to the practical success of his political philosophy; and his critics, many of his friends, are alive to this matter. His study windows have been open; and he has hitherto done his work as the hum from the street has reached his ears. Will he, can he now, distinguish the various sounds which will swell into a roar as, for the next four years, he marches along with the nation?

German comment is represented by the point of view of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which refers to Dr. Wilson as "an independent statesman with a rich mental equipment and wide views who will strike out in new paths. . . . He will not only be the head of the government, but a leader in American political thought."

It will be interesting to note that some of the most sincere appreciation of Dr. Wilson's equipment for his great task comes from the censored journals of Russia, with the government of which the president-elect will have more than one difficult diplomatic problem to solve. It pleases the Russian press a good deal that Governor Wilson is not a professional politician. Commenting upon the election, the *Ryetch*, of St. Petersburg, the moderate organ of the Constitutional Democrats, says:

The main significance of Woodrow Wilson lies . . . in the uncommon personal qualities of the future President. He will enter the White House not only as Democrat of the party type, but also as a sincere, honest and independent progressist, an enlightened and cultured man, and—what may be the most important—more an eminent man of learning and writer than a professional politician. If the sinister party forces will not paralyze the will and the initiative of the future president, he, may be, will inaugurate a new era in the United States, an era of real political honesty.

## TOPICS IN THE AMERICAN MONTHLIES

**I**N the treatment of big world problems through the medium of the review article the American magazinist must yield the palm to his British brother. As is stated on another page, it is to the great English reviews that we turn for the ablest and most comprehensive discussion of the topics of the day. The American monthly magazine has little in common with the English review, and although its popular circulation and prestige are far greater, even in England, it does not yet speak with the authoritative tone in which the *Quarterly* and the *Contemporary* address the British public.

The magazine, edited not for a literary class, but for every man or woman who cares to read stories or look at pictures, provides primarily for the entertainment of its readers, but it does not stop there. It seeks to impart instruction and sometimes it even exhorts; but its prevailing method is the presentation of facts rather than arguments. Our magazine writers are not, as a class, able dialecticians. They have no special skill in the polemics of the printed page. Pamphleteering is becoming a lost art among us. The man with the reporter's instinct for news and a Gradgrindish passion for "facts" is more frequently the writer of the typical magazine contribution. He may, and usually does, have other qualifications for the task, but these he must have.

Many of us were brought up, as it were, to regard the *Atlantic Monthly* as belonging in a class by itself among American periodicals. It was more distinctively literary than any other magazine; there was less about it to remind one of the frankly materialistic aspects of life. That is true of the *Atlantic* to-day, in a general sense, but some topics are now discussed in its pages that have an unfamiliar look there. Twenty years ago the *Atlantic* was not giving much space to "The Drift toward Government Ownership of Railways,"—a subject admirably treated in the December number by a railway president, B. L. Winchell. In the same number are two articles on the new science of eugenics by Samuel George Smith and Simeon Strunsky.

The January *Atlantic*, indeed, suggests the London reviews in the range of international questions that engage the expository abilities of its contributors. Ferrero's comments on European war prospects, Arthur Ruhl's survey of our dealings with Colombia *in re Panama*, Ernest Dimnet's thought-provoking

inquiry into "Syndicalism and its Philosophy," Ching Chun Wang's "Plea for the Recognition of the Chinese Republic," Roland G. Usher's "The Balkan Crisis,"—each of these articles serves to remind us that our national point of view has changed since we entered the group of world-powers. "The Epic of the Indian," by Charles M. Harvey, reviews the melancholy record of our dealings with the red man and John Muir's "Lessons of the Wilderness" reverts to the days of pioneering in Wisconsin, where the venerable naturalist as a boy did a man's work on the farm. The series of pen portraits of Confederate commanders, by a Northern writer, Gamaliel Bradford, Jr., is noteworthy. Longstreet was described in December and J. E. B. Stuart in January.

Among our popular magazines none has done more than the *Century* in the cause of American history and the preservation of authentic accounts of important events. The *Century's* great series of Civil War papers, printed a quarter of a century ago, was an enterprise unprecedented in the history of magazine publishing. In December appeared two articles in the *Century's* "After-the-War-Series," covering the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, the causes being sketched by Gen. Garrison Gray Otis, while the more conservative view is presented by Gen. John B. Henderson, the only survivor of the seven Republican Senators whose votes prevented President Johnson's impeachment. These contributions are followed in the January number by an account of the trial, largely based on the President's notes and letters, and an anecdotal sketch of Johnson. The editors promise for subsequent numbers of the magazine papers treating of the later aspects of "Reconstruction" from the Southern viewpoint.

Other *Century* features (for December) are Farnham Bishop's very human account of "The End of the Big Job" (Panama), including a conversation with Colonel Goethals; a wonderful collection of photographs of the heads of all the various sects now resident in Jerusalem, with text by Thomas E. Green; and an illuminating article on "The Trade of Russia" by James D. Whelpley.

The publication of Explorer Stefánsson's account of his laborious and fruitful quest in the Arctic has been begun in *Harper's*. The Stefánsson-Anderson expedition differed from former undertakings in the Arctic in that its object was to discover people, rather than

lands. The explorers hoped to find tribes who had never seen white men and their wish was gratified. Several theories have been advanced to account for the fact that some of these people were of fairer complexion than is usual among American aborigines, but Mr. Stefánsson's own hypothesis is reserved for later disclosure.

Another leading feature of the Christmas *Harper's* is a delightful account of "Cordova and the Way There" by W. D. Howells. Illustrations in tint are supplied by Norman Irving Black.

Price Collier's articles in *Scribner's* on "Germany and the Germans from an American Point of View" are notably instructive, —especially the December installment, dealing with German political parties and the

press. The same magazine has Christian Brinton's "Scandinavian Painters of Today," with reproductions of paintings by leading artists, some of whom are represented in the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

*McClure's*, *The American*, *Munsey's*, *Everybody's*, and *Hearst's Magazine* are devoted for the most part to peculiarly American topics. In *McClure's*, for example, Burton J. Hendrick tells how workmen's compensation for industrial accidents is provided in the State of Washington. In *Everybody's*, S. H. Wolfe summarizes the methods of compensation now adopted by our States under these broad classifications: The Washington idea, the Ohio idea, the New Jersey idea, and the Massachusetts idea.

## A HIGHER COST OF LIVING YET TO COME

THE fact that "things are not what they seem," in every case, is forcefully illustrated in a paper by Prof. Irving Fisher of Yale on the high cost of living, contributed to the *North American Review*. The man in the street has been laboring under the illusion that one reason of the high cost of living has been the increased prices of foods; also that while the prices of foods have augmented there has been a scarcity of money wherewith to purchase the necessities of life. But Professor Fisher, whose authority to speak on the subject no one will question, makes the following assertion:

The prices of foods constitute, of course, a very important part of the cost of living. Yet a study of the actual statistics reveals the surprising fact that the general average rise in the price of food has little more than kept pace with the general average level of all prices. This fact and others make it clear that, in the main, the rise in "the cost of living" is not a rise peculiar to foods or other special items of domestic expenditure, but is merely a part of the general expansion which has been going on and is still to go on, due *primarily* . . . to gold inflation and the extension of banking.

In other words, the real cause of the high cost of living is *too much gold*. The Professor realizes that "this is a difficult conclusion for many people to accept: it is difficult to see the woods for the trees." He therefore cites some of the common explanations of the rise of prices, which "are so shallow that they merely need to be stated to be refuted." He tells us:

No explanation is sufficient which merely explains one price in terms of another price. For instance, to say that "prices" have gone up because "wages" have gone up is merely to say that

the prices of *commodities* have risen because the price of *labor* has risen. It is no more satisfactory to turn it about and say that the price of *labor* has risen because of the higher prices of *food* which have driven workmen to strike for higher wages; or that the cost of finished products has risen because the cost of raw material has risen, or *vice versa*. These are examples of circular explanations well cartooned by the picture of a number of people standing in a circle and each accusing his neighbor; the consumer blaming the retailer, the retailer the middleman, the middleman the manufacturer, the manufacturer the producer, the producer the workman, the workman the trust, the trust the extravagant consumer, etc. Of course individual prices act and react on one another in thousands of ways. But these pushes and pulls between different commodities do not raise them all any more than pulling on our bootstraps will raise us from the ground. The causes which raise the general level of prices are as distinct from those which change individual prices as are the causes affecting the tides distinct from those affecting individual waves. The ground-swell or ocean tides of prices are primarily the result of inflation of some kind.

On the subject of inflation Professor Fisher writes at considerable length, quoting some remarkable statistics; but what the average housekeeper will be most interested in will be his observations on the purchasing power of the dollar. He says:

The forces which determine the purchasing power of the dollar may be grouped under two heads: first, the circulation of media of exchange (money and checks), and, second, the volume of trade or the quantities of goods bought and sold. Every increase in the use of money and checks tends to inflate prices, while every increase in the volume of trade tends to lower prices. . . . If facilities for payment (money and checks) outstrip the needs of business, the price level will rise; if the business to be done outstrips the money and checks to do it with, prices will fall.

# GERHART HAUPTMANN, NOBEL PRIZE WINNER

BY MAY TEVIS

ON the fifteenth of November, 1912, Gerhart Hauptmann, Germany's most distinguished dramatic poet, celebrated his fiftieth birthday, and on that day he received the award of the Nobel Prize of approximately \$40,000, for idealism in literature.

There is a line of cleavage in the crystal of this poet's genius, dividing it into the harshly realistic on one side and ideal poetic symbolism on the other, and this cleavage admirers of one or the other aspect persist in regarding as a flaw.

Hence the controversy which has raged about his work ever since the day, now more than a score of years ago, when he flung to the world the flaming indictment of social injustice and economic oppression embodied in the brutal realism of "The Weavers," the incendiary play of which Francisque Sarcey said that "no government which had not gone mad would allow this piece to be played before the mob."

But above its dark waters unfolds the exquisite blossom of human compassion as a lily spreads its shining petals above the slime and scum of a noisome pool.

Again in the more recent play, "The Rats," we find a frightful and revolting picture of those rodent human animals that are gnawing at the foundations of society. Yet another French critic, Henri Guilbeaux, finds in it qualities of "strength and rhythm, light and life."

And in the religious novel, "The Fool in Christ," published a year or two ago, many serious-minded persons find a noble embodiment of the true Christ spirit, while the equally serious-minded Mr. Joyce Kilmer regards it as "frankly and repulsively blasphemous."

## BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

The ancestry, the early environment, and the subsequent career of Hauptmann shed much light on this singular combination of characteristics. Born in the tiny village of Obersalzbrunn, amid the poetic beauty of the Silesian mountains, he springs of sturdy peasant stock. His grandfather, Ehrenfried, felt in his own person the cruel trials that beset the Silesian weavers, but had sufficient energy and good fortune to change his occupation. He became a waiter, and later an independent and thrifty innkeeper.

This business was inherited by the poet's father, Robert Hauptmann, a man of "solid and not uncultivated understanding," who married Marie Straehler, the daughter of one of the pious Moravian households of Silesia.

Gerhart attended the school in his native village till he was twelve, when he was sent to Breslau for four years. He was accounted an idle pupil in both places, hence his father, who had meanwhile become less prosperous, withdrew him at sixteen and determined to make a farmer of him, for which reason he went to live with a pious uncle.

At eighteen the lad, who had always displayed talent for modeling, decided on a sculptor's career and in 1880 he entered the Royal College of Art in Breslau. Here again he failed to impress his teachers, and two years later he joined his brother Karl at the University of Jena, where, as a special student, he had the privilege of hearing lectures by Haeckel and Eucken.

But academic life failed to hold his restless spirit and we next find him a passionate pilgrim to Italian shrines of beauty.

## EARLIER PLAYS

Meanwhile, the literary impulse began to assert itself and he thought to satisfy his nature by becoming an actor, a plan which came to nothing practically, but doubtless influenced him in his later dramatic writings.

In 1885, the year of his marriage to Marie Thienemann, who had nursed him through an illness in Rome, the young man definitely cast in his lot with literature by the publication of his first work, "Promethidenlos," whose hero "vacillates between poetry and sculpture, but is able to give himself freely to neither art because of his overwhelming sense of social injustice and human suffering."

He now resided in Berlin and became a leading spirit among the group of young writers who about this time began to be known as the naturalistic school. This movement dominated German literature for a few years, despite the bitterness with which many critics attacked its matter and its methods.

But, though Hauptmann was its acknowledged leader, it ceased to be an adequate vehicle for the spiritual energies of this creative mind, which found fuller utterance in the symbolic idealism of the drama-poems, "The Sunken Bell" and "Hannele's Himmelsfahrt" (Heavenly Pilgrimage). Both of these are well known to playgoers in America, the former having been presented by Mr. Sothern, and the latter by Mrs. Fiske. Both display the minute observation and the careful technique of the realistic school, but both are illuminated by those loftier aspirations of the soul implied in the term idealism, and in contrast to the rough coarse dialect of "The Weavers" we find in each of these exquisite passages of poetic diction where the Teutonic tongue is attuned to a smooth and singing sweetness whose vocal harmonies haunt the inner ear as their lovely imagery haunts the inner vision.

In "Lonely Lives" we find another phase of the struggle in the author's soul. Its theme is the struggle of individualism against environment, and its hero is, like Hauptmann himself, an "Übergangsmensch," a "transition-man," to use the expressive German phrase.

One of the poet's admirers and disciples gives a glowing account of his personality in this period

of the '90's—the delicate, ardent, sensitive face crowned by masses of fair hair and lit by eyes of blue fire. He describes very tellingly the effect produced by the first reading of "Hannele" on the day the poet finished it after weeks of a spiritual travail which left deep-graved marks upon his countenance.

The coterie of writers who had gathered about him in the old home in the Silesian mountains were met in the garden one afternoon when the poet rushed out to them crying that his work was finished. They listened spellbound and in rapt enthusiasm while he poured forth the moving story of the sufferings of the orphan child with whose prototype in the streets of the village they were all familiar.

The time is not ripe for a consideration of all the influences, spiritual and material, public and domestic, that have molded the plastic soul of this creative artist.

But it may be mentioned briefly that his first marriage was dissolved, and that a later union with a woman who was herself highly gifted, a celebrated violinist, seems to have brought peace into his life.

Hauptmann has suffered much from that morbid super-sensitivity to criticism so often found in men dowered with the exquisite impressibility of genius.

#### "GABRIEL SCHILLING'S FLIGHT"

This explains, perhaps, the fact of his withholding from the public for six years his latest play, "Gabriel Schilling's Flight." Not until last summer did he permit its presentation, and then the première took place, not on the adequate stage of a Berlin theater, but in the so-called Goethe's Theater, at Lauchstadt, some miles distant. The event, however, roused widespread interest, and the leading critics and other *literati* of Germany attended.

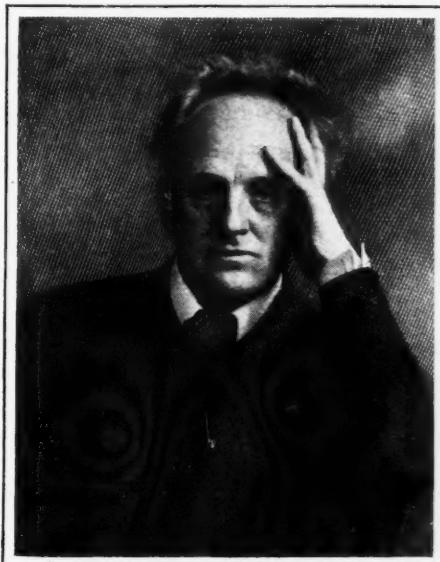
The dramatist was greeted with a personal ovation which must have been peculiarly grateful, coming from so brilliant an audience and one so largely composed of "intellectuals."

This reception, however, did not save it from the attack he evidently dreaded. One critic writing in a leading magazine, declared it old-fashioned and tiresome, saying it should have appeared fifteen or twenty years before, during the reign of "naturalism," to have any hope of success. But another well-known critic, in another leading magazine expresses his admiration in a charming metaphor, saying that not since "Lonely Lives" has Hauptman plunged so profoundly into the human soul, "bringing from its depths handfuls of pearls—or are they but crystallized tears?"

This play will undoubtedly rouse interest in America. It is to be produced in German in New York in February, and with the name-part taken by Mr. Rudolf Christians of the Court Theater of Berlin, one of the most distinguished actors of the modern German stage.

An English version will appear about the same time, in the authorized translation of Hauptmann's works now being issued by the publishing house of B. Huebsch.

Gabriel Schilling is a miserable weakling, a painter in early middle life who has fallen into a morass of poverty and failure through his moral vacillation. He has burdened himself in youth with a dull and uncongenial wife and has sought refuge from the banality of her society in that of a



GERHART HAUPTMANN

brilliant but unscrupulous Russian Jewess, Hanna Elias, who poses for him and of whose child he is the father.

His "flight" is from the importunities of wife and mistress, from the latter of whom he has finally resolved to cut loose. He takes refuge on an island in the Baltic, where he is the guest of his faithful friend, the sculptor, Professor Mäurer, who is represented as a man of contrasting character—strong in body, soul, and mind as poor Gabriel is weak.

For a few days he is happy in the hope of regaining health and courage and in the congenial society of Mäurer and of Lucie Heil, a brilliant young violinist, between whom and Mäurer there exists the trinity of a perfect love.

But Hanna seeks him out and easily refasts her chains on her willing victim, in spite of Mäurer's remonstrance. Gabriel's broken body succumbs to a sudden seizure and Dr. Rasmussen is summoned hastily from Berlin. The physician naturally advises the wife and she accompanies him.

Thus arrives the climax of the play in its strongest scene—a battle of scathing insults and reproaches between the two women, whose fury is unchecked even when the sick man, roused by the violence of their mutual imprecations, appears staggering in the doorway.

Overwhelmed with shame and disgust he demands from the doctor "Poison, a powerful poison," after exclaiming, pathetically enough, if unconvincingly, that he had not meant to do wrong and cause such misery.

A few hours later in a state of semi-delirium he wanders from the house and flings himself into the sea. Meanwhile, however, an episode has occurred which throws into strong relief the contrasting character of Lucie.

Hanna's companion, another clever Russian, belongs to that type of modern Delilah who shears the locks of strong men by fulsome flattery and insidiously soul-sapping adulation—a type familiar enough in the studios, universities, and congre-

gations of America. She promptly lays siege to the famous sculptor, who as promptly succumbs. Lucie supports this unlooked for defection with a noble fortitude and a dispassionate reasonableness—though she cannot suppress a few justly caustic remarks to the new siren on the subject of masculine instability.

The hideous quarrel-scene has a powerful effect on all the spectators. It brings Mäurer to his senses with a realization of Lucie's worth, and Lucie is moved to reflection on the shipwrecking folly of women who have neither material nor spiritual independence of existence, but fasten like harpies on some man, to their own ruin, or his, or both.

She rejoices in the possession of her profession, with its absorbing interests, honorable ambitions, and personal independence. Even if the man she has loved and trusted to the uttermost should play her false her life will not suffer ultimate wreck. Very joyously, however, she welcomes the return of his allegiance.

#### HAUPTMANN AS A NOVELIST,—“ATLANTIS”

This brief sketch would be incomplete without some account of the novel “Atlantis,” which is shortly to be issued by Fischer of Berlin, after running serially in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, but which has already appeared in English, thanks to the enterprise of the American publisher, and the diligence of the translators, Adele and Thomas Seltzer.<sup>1</sup>

It is understood to be semi-autobiographical, and is of particular interest because it embodies some of the author's experiences during his visit to America about twenty years ago.

Atlantis, the fabled sunken continent of the ancients, is the term employed for that dream-world beyond the grave into which the hero penetrates during sleep and during the peculiar seizures or trances to which he is subject, and during which he is gifted with a sort of second sight.

These dreams or visions, ingeniously concocted of fact and fancy as they are, the present reviewer finds the least attractive and the most unconvincing portions of the book. Profoundly important as Freud has taught us to consider actual dreams in their bearing on the physiological and psychological state of the individual, the artificial dream is bound to remain a factitious and lifeless thing.

A far better title would be the “The Spider's Web,” as the following brief analysis will show:

The hero, Frederic von Kammacher, a physician, a bacteriologist of promise, and a man highly susceptible to the expressions of art, despite his scientific tastes, finds himself at 31 suddenly caught in a mesh of circumstance which abruptly closes one phase of his career. The lovely young wife to whom he had been united several years before has become hopelessly insane, and a treatise on a supposed new discovery in bacteriology, by which he had fondly hoped to establish his reputation, has been received with jeers by his scientific compeers. Crushed by domestic misfortune and discredited in the eyes of the public he is in a spiritual condition which makes it exceptionally easy for the virus of an unworthy love to enter his veins.

He has seen at the *Kunstlerhaus* in Berlin a marvelous symbolic dance, called “Mara, or the Spider's Victim,” given by a sixteen-year-old Swedish girl, Ingigerd Hahlstrom.

The description of this dance is a passage of

wonderful poetic beauty and symbolism. In the center of the stage is a huge artificial flower in whose center squats a monster spider.

The dancer, whose exquisite sylph-like body is clad in floating gauzes shot with gold, represents an elf lured by the perfume and beauty of the flower at first and suddenly repelled by the sight of the lurking danger. In the second phase of the dance, the elf again seeks the flower, but this time lured by the mingled fascination, of fear, horror, and curiosity. In the third phase she seeks to escape, but is drawn closer and closer by the floating filaments of the web, until she lies bound and helpless at the mercy of her evil captor.

Frederic is penetrated with a sudden and irresistible passion by the mingled beauty and sensuousness of the dancer, and the powerful pathetic appeal of her helplessness. He abandons his practice, puts his three children in a school, bids a hearty good-bye to his parents and takes passage on the good ship *Roland*, on which the dancer and her father have embarked to fill a vaudeville engagement in America. The book is fraught with incident and rich in character-study, as well as in those curious dreams we have referred to above, but through all the central theme is Frederic's struggle with his passion for Ingigerd, a passion which survives even the girl's unblushing confession of a past life rivalling that of Lais or Phryne, and her cynical avowal that she would rather be disreputable and enjoy life to the utmost than be highly respected and bored to death. Frederic realizes that he “has set his all on nothing,” but finds himself still enmeshed by the floating and clinging web of her lure.

The ship meets with wreck—a scene described with thrilling vividness. Frederic and Ingigerd, with a handful of others are rescued, and the scene changes to the life in New York described in Part II.

Frederic is received into a colony of German artists in Harlem, where he finds both old friends and new. Ingigerd, whose value as a vaudeville headliner is tremendously enhanced by the sensational shipwreck, refuses to renounce the career whose excitement both intoxicates her senses and flatters her vanity, and she and her manager are riotous with joy when the battle between him and the S. P. C. C. is decided in the favor of the former by the intervention of the Mayor, who decides the case not on its merits but because of the Tammany influence exerted.

Frederic has begged the girl to leave the stage, but feels her refusal “sets him free”—though we can not help believing that the beautiful sculptress he has met in the artists' colony and under whose inspiration he has been developing a latent ability to model, is a determining factor in this. Shortly after, he breaks down under the load of all he has suffered and battles for life in an attack of typhoid fever.

The beautiful Eva nurses him safely through it and on his recovery he learns that his unhappy wife, despite the care of her attendants, has committed suicide.

Frederic emerges from his spiritual and physical crisis purged and restored. He is united to the admirable Eva and the two return to make their home in Germany. In Eva, as in Lucie Heil, we find Hauptmann's conception of the fine strong modern woman who is man's best helpmeet because she is capable of standing alone.

<sup>1</sup>Atlantis. By Gerhart Johann Robert Hauptmann. Translated by Adele and Thomas Seltzer. B. W. Huebsch. \$1.50.

## NEW BOOKS ON RELIGIOUS THEMES

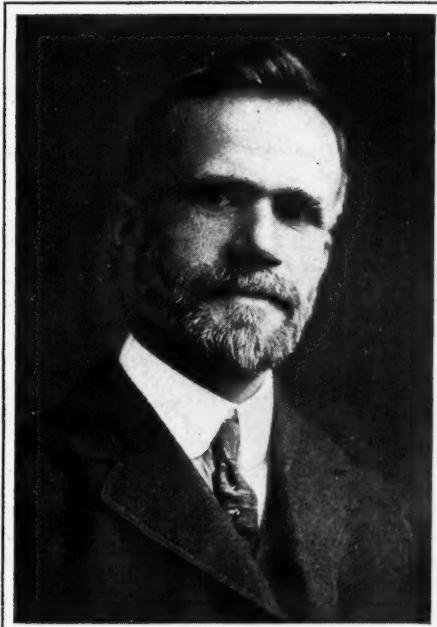
THE distinguishing characteristic of the work of the Christian church to-day is its already keen, and ever sharpening appreciation of the social problems that face our generation.

**The Church and Society** Theology has indeed begun its descent from the "theorizing of the steeple top" to the need of hungry humanity at its door. Modern Christianity, says Dr. Samuel G. Smith (of the Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota) in his new book "Democracy and the Church,"<sup>1</sup> has been the mother of the great social movements of our times.

"Stupid critics have railed against the church because it did not always move at once as one mass in favor of every great and good cause. It were foolish to expect it. We have prophets and reformers simply because masses of men do not move easily and love their traditions. The glory of the church is not that she was always encamped in full force on every battle line, but rather that she gave birth to the new leaders, furnished them with their ideas, developed for them their character, provided their inspiration, and was the recruiting ground for their battalions."

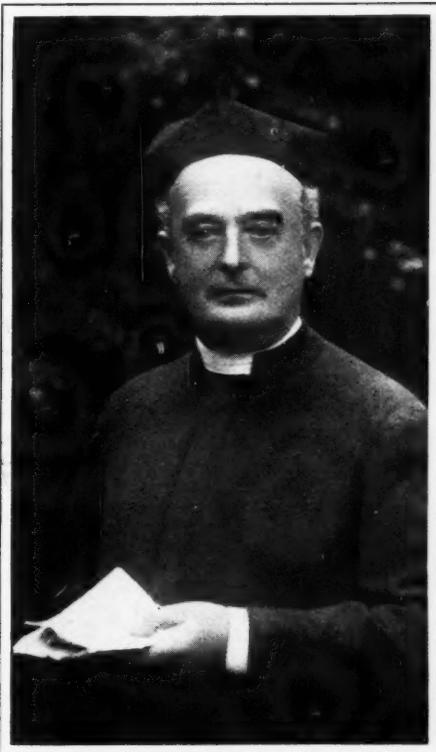
Dr. Smith's book is based on a course of lectures on applied Christianity delivered several years ago at Bangor Theological Seminary.

A new Christian social order in the process of making is the subject of the third of Dr. Walter



DR. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH  
(Author of "Christianizing the Social Order")

**Democracy and the Church.** By Samuel G. Smith.  
D. Appleton & Co. 357 pp. \$1.50.



THE REV. BERNARD VAUGHAN  
(Author of "Socialism from the Christian Standpoint")

Rauschenbusch's series of books on social-religious subjects, the two former being entitled "Christianity and the Social Crisis" and "Prayers of the Social Awakening." He entitles this new book "Christianizing the Social Order."<sup>2</sup> It is a vigorous indictment of the collective sins of our age. For the past ten years, says Dr. Rauschenbusch, our nation has been under conviction of sin. We have now begun to realize this. "The old leaders of the people are stumbling off the stage bewildered; there is a new type of leaders and they and the people seem to understand each other as if by magic." Dr. Rauschenbusch, who, it will be remembered, is Professor of Church History at Rochester Theological Seminary, has been a frequent contributor to the magazines during the past few years, always in clean-cut, vigorous accents arraigning national dereliction of duty.

Father Bernard Vaughan, the celebrated English Jesuit prelate, scholar, and author, has gathered into book form a series of ten "Conferences" on Socialism<sup>3</sup> from the standpoint of Christianity

<sup>1</sup>Christianizing the Social Order. By Walter Rauschenbusch. Macmillan Company. 493 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>2</sup>Socialism from the Christian Standpoint. Father Bernard Vaughan, S. J. Macmillan. 389 pp. \$1.50.

which were originally preached in the spring of 1912, at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York. Father Vaughan considers from the standpoint of the orthodox Catholic layman whether Socialism and Christianity are opposed to each other, whether Socialism would serve to redress industrial wrongs, and what attitude Christianity ought to take toward the Socialistic movement. While stating the principles and progress of Socialism with a fullness and fairness not usually characteristic of ecclesiastical writers, he comes to the conclusion that it is the duty of Catholics everywhere to point out that Socialism is "economically unsound, philosophically false, and ethically wrong." "Bad in theory, it would be even worse in practice," is the general verdict of this clerical writer.

The relations of Christianity to the labor movements of to-day are discussed in a little volume by William Morris Balch, formerly Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. He endeavors to enforce the urgent social mission of the church and to indicate "the critical duties thrust upon us by the labor problem."<sup>1</sup>

For the purpose of setting forth "the absolute inadequacy of the revelation of Christ to the needs of mankind—modern as well as ancient," Dr.

**The Personality of Christ** George Holley Gilbert has prepared a second volume in his series on the personality of Jesus. Other recently issued books attempting to set forth the ethical and social significance of Christ's life and personality to the world of modern men are: "If Christ Were King," by Albert E. Waffle, (Griffith & Rowland Press); "The Heart of the Christian Message," by George A. Barton, (Macmillan); "The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ," by Dr. H. R. Mackintosh, being one of the International Theological Library, (Scribner's); "Was Christ Divine?" by William W. Kinsley, (Sherman, French & Co.); "The Master of the Feast," by Wilson R. Stearly, (George W. Jacobs & Co.); "Some Moral Reasons for Belief in the Godhead of Jesus Christ," by George P. Mains, (Eaton & Mains); and "The Man of No Sorrows," by Coulson Kernahan, (Cassell & Co.).

A number of scholarly treatises on biblical history in the light of modern scientific antiquarian research include: "Ecce Deus, Studies of Primitive Christianity," (Open Court Publishing Company) by William Benjamin Smith; "Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament," (Eaton & Mains) by Robert W. Rogers; "Development of Religious Thought in Ancient Egypt," (Scribner's) by Frederick Jones Bliss; "Historical Setting of the Early Gospel," (Eaton & Mains) by Thomas Cuming Hall; "The International Bible Dictionary," illustrated, (The John C. Winston Co.) edited by F. M. Peloubet and Alice D. Adams; "The New Light on the Old Truth," (Houghton Mifflin Co.) by Charles Allen Dinsmore; "Intellectual Religion," (Sherman, French & Co.) by Thomas Curran Ryan; "Revelation and its Record," (Sherman, French & Co.) by William W. Guth; "The Religious Forces of the United States," (Scribner's) by H. K. Carroll; "Biblical and Theological Studies," (Scribner's) by the Members of the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary; "The Meaning of God in Human Experience," (Yale University Press) by William Ernest Hocking; "Mountains of the Bible," (Sherman, French & Co.) by J. J. Summerbell; "The Christian View of the Old Testament," (Eaton & Mains) by Frederick Carl Eiselein; "Suggestions for the 'Spiritual Life,'" (Funk & Wagnalls Co.) by George Lansing Raymond; "Christian Thought Since Kant," (Scribner's) by Edward Caldwell Moore; "The Holy Christian Church," (Houghton Mifflin Co.) by R. M. Johnston; "The Medieval Church Architecture of England," (Macmillan) by Charles Herbert Moore; "Great Religions of the World," (Harper & Brothers) a collection of articles by various authorities on religious subjects, and "Our Growing Creed," (Scribner's) by William D. McLaren.

Three volumes of the International Critical Commentary come to us from Scribner's. They treat the Johannine Epistles (edited by Dr. A. E. Brooke); Thessalonians (edited by James Everett Frame); Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah (edited by Drs. H. G. Mitchell, John M. Smith, and Julius A. Bewer).

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISCUSSION

**Industrial Reform** THE Hon. William C. Redfield is one of those members of the Sixty-second Congress whose absence from the Sixty-third will be sincerely regretted not only by his fellow Democrats, but by many members of the opposition. Mr. Redfield has for many years been a manufacturer and his grasp of present-day economic and industrial problems has made his service in Congress exceptionally valuable, not only to his constituents, but to the entire country. An outline of his views on some of the more pressing of these problems is set forth in a little book entitled "The New Industrial Day."<sup>2</sup> Throughout this work there is a distinctive note of sympathy with all industrial workers, whether employers or employees. What Mr. Red-

<sup>1</sup>Christianity and the Labor Movement. By William M. Balch. Boston: Sherman, French & Co. 108 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup>The New Industrial Day. By William C. Redfield. The Century Company. 213 pp. \$1.25.

field chiefly insists upon is such a readjustment of our industrial organization as shall secure the conservation of the human forces not less than the material. He declares that in the scientific development of our industries many of us have stopped too soon. "The man is infinitely well worth study and infinitely more difficult to study than the machine." It is well enough to see that employees give full hours of labor each day, but there are many employers, who, while insisting on this, fail to consider whether their employees are in fit condition to do a day's work, or whether the conditions for which they themselves are responsible permit the employee to put forth his best efforts. In answer to those who ask about the closed shop, Mr. Redfield says: "I do not approve the act of any man or men who would deny to another the right to work at any lawful occupation when, where, and for whatever wage he will.

Still less do I approve the continuous making of profits where wages or working conditions exist that cramp manhood or degrade womanhood or stunt childhood. I recall no policy ever avowed by labor that is a worse offense than the sweat shop."

In "The New Competition"<sup>1</sup> Mr. Arthur Jerome Eddy examines the conditions underlying the change in the commercial and industrial world

**The Question of Price** from a competitive to a co-operative basis. Much that Mr. Eddy says about the open price will be new to those readers who have had the impression that the open price was already universally adopted. Mr. Eddy means by open price exactly what the words signify, "the price that is known to both competitors and customers, that is marked in plain figures wherever practicable on every article produced, that is accurately printed in every price-list issued—a price about which there is no secrecy, no evasions, no preferences." Mr. Eddy makes it clear that what he has in mind is something far different from the fixed-price policy long in vogue. As he puts it, the secret price is the mark of the old false competition; the fixed price is the mark of the illegal combination, suppressed competition; the open price is the mark of the new, true competition. Mr. Eddy has based his conclusions on the operations of a number of open-price associations which have tested his theories in practice.

From his experience in association with banking houses engaged in the business of buying and selling corporation securities and as a lawyer occupied

**Corporation Finance** in working out the financial arrangements of corporations, Mr. W. H.

Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance, of Dartmouth College, has written "Capitalization: A Book on Corporation Finance."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Lyon's treatise should prove useful to all young men engaged in financial work, as well as to the large number of people who invest in corporation securities, either on their own account or for financial institutions, while citizens who wish to base on exact knowledge their opinion of the proper attitude of the government toward corporations will find in Mr. Lyon's book a statement of the principles of corporation finance.

A book that will appeal to a larger public is a little manual entitled "How to Invest When Prices are Rising,"<sup>3</sup> to which chapters are contributed by

**Advice to Investors** the well-known economists, Irving Fisher, E. W. Kemmerer, Harry G. Brown, Walter E. Clark and

J. Pease Norton, by Montgomery Rollins, and by G. Lynn Sumner, editor of the *Securities Review*. The writers named have endeavored in this little volume to outline the scientific method of providing for the increasing cost of living. Most people, perhaps, have not gone so far as to provide by scientific investment for this increasing cost, and it must be admitted that the great mass of people know little or nothing of investing. By

<sup>1</sup>The New Competition. By Arthur Jerome Eddy. D. Appleton & Co. 374 pp. \$2.  
<sup>2</sup>Capitalization: A Book on Corporation Finance. By Walter Hastings Lyon. Houghton Mifflin Company. 296 pp. \$2.

<sup>3</sup>How to Invest When Prices are Rising. By Irving Fisher, Edwin W. Kemmerer, Harry G. Brown, Walter E. Clark, J. Pease Norton, Montgomery Rollins, and G. Lynn Sumner. Scranton, Pa.: G. Lynn Sumner & Co. 144 pp.



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD

(Whose book, "The New Industrial Day," deals with vital economic and social problems)

collaboration on this work these eminent economists and financial experts have sought, first, to state clearly what the investor's problem is, and next to aid the prospective investor in discriminating among the various classes of stocks and bonds that are offered for his purchase between those investments to which greater or less degrees of risk are attached.

Mr C. B. Fillebrown, formerly president of the Massachusetts Single Tax League, has compiled "A Single-Tax Handbook for 1913."<sup>4</sup> This work

**Classics of the Single Tax** epitomizes such classics of the single-tax movement as J. S. Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," the famous statement of Father McGlynn, and excerpts from Thomas G. Shearman's "Natural Taxation," and from Mr. Fillebrown's "A B C of Taxation."

Mr. A. J. Portenar deals with certain of the problems of organized labor from the point of view of an ardent unionist who strongly opposes socialism and all that is embodied in the term **Trade Unionism** "Syndicalism."<sup>5</sup> Among the proposals which Mr. Portenar regards as most important for the solution of the labor problem is the co-operative trading society. The adoption of this, in his opinion, would bring about real democracy based on community of interests and better acquaintance between working-men within and without the unions.

<sup>4</sup>A Single-Tax Handbook for 1913. By C. B. Fillebrown. Boston, Mass: C. B. Fillebrown. 180 pp.

<sup>5</sup>Organized Labor. By A. J. Portenar. Macmillan Company. 134 pp. \$1.

In "Immigration and Labor,"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich discusses the economic aspects of European immigration to the United States as summarized in the recent report of the in the Federal Immigration Commission. **Labor Market** Dr. Hourwich is convinced that no method of restriction thus far proposed would avail to make any important change in the American labor situation.

Starting out with the audacious belief that, "for the vocation of housewife there should be as careful technical education as for the physician, the lawyer, the editor or the politician; **Housekeeping as a Business** that modern science can be harnessed to the use of the household just as it has been harnessed to the use of a steel

works; that the mother of children has an opportunity for the use of skill in pedagogy not surpassed by the teacher, and that co-operation between households calls for as much diplomacy as that exercised by statesmen," Martha Bensley Bruère and Robert W. Bruère have prepared an entertaining and useful volume on "Increasing Home Efficiency."<sup>2</sup> It is an attempt to treat clearly and in a scientific way a phase of married life which has heretofore been neglected or dismissed with rather thin sentimentalities. The Bruères, husband and wife, have investigated the business of housekeeping and tabulated and interpreted the results of their investigations. Their general conclusion is that what the world needs most to-day is "the domestication of business and the socialization of the home."

## NEW EDITIONS

**ONE** of the most noteworthy contributions to the scholarship of the present day is the Loeb Classical Library. Because he believed that the

**Reprinting the Classics** "more practical," the large variety

of subjects that must be taught in our schools are crowding out the humanities, Mr. James Loeb has been spending lavishly of his ample means to help "make the beauty and learning, the philosophy and wit of the great writers of ancient Greece and Rome once more accessible by means of translations that are in themselves real pieces of literature." Mr. Loeb, after his retirement, some years ago, from the banking firm of which he was a member, became interested, while a member of the English Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, in the revival of the classics in an adequate modern literary form. In France there already existed editions of the classics giving text and translation, original on one page and French on the other. In Germany the attempt had been made to do the same thing, but until Mr. Loeb took up the matter no collection of the kind existed in English speaking countries. He consulted a number of the most distinguished scholars of the world before undertaking the enterprise. His advisory board consists of a number of the most eminent scholars of Great Britain, Germany, France and the United States. These include Dr. Edward Capps, of Princeton, Dr. William G. Hale, of the University of Chicago, Professor John William White, of Harvard, Dr. J. G. Frazer and Sir J. E. Sandys, of Cambridge, Mr. A. D. Godley, of Oxford, Dr. Otto Crusius, of the University of Munich, Dr. Herman Diels, of the University of Berlin, and M. Maurice Croiset and Salomon Reinach, of the Institut de France.

Wherever translations of marked excellence were already in existence efforts were made to secure them for this edition, but in many cases wholly new translations were made by British, French, German and American scholars. Mr. Loeb, in his introductory statement, says that he hopes not only that this series will be of value to those who wish to read the classics for the pure joy of it, but that "some readers may be enticed by the

text printed opposite the translation to gather an elementary knowledge of Greek and Latin." The first twenty volumes of the "Library" which have now appeared include: "The Apostolic Fathers," 2 Vols., translated by Professor Kiropp Lake; "The Confessions of St. Augustine," 2 Vols.; (revised) translated by W. Watts; "Euripides," (in 4 Vols.) Vols. 1 and 2, translated by A. S. Way; "Philostratus, the Life of Apollonius of Tyana," 2 Vols., translated by F. C. Conybear; "Propertius," translated by Professor H. E. Butler; "Terence," 2 Vols., translated by J. Sargeant; "Apollonius Rhodius," translated by R. C. Seaton; "Appian's Roman History," (in 4 Vols.) Vols. 1 and 2, translated by Horace White; "Catullus," translated by Professor F. W. Cornish; "Tibullus," translated by Professor J. P. Postgate; "Per vigilium Veneris," translated by J. W. Mackail; "Cicero's Letters to Atticus," (in 3 Vols.) translated by E. O. Winstedt; "Lucian," (in 8 Vols.) Vol. 1, translated by Professor A. M. Harmon; "Julian's Orations," (in 3 Vols.) Vol. 1, translated by Professor W. C. Wright; "Theocritus, Bion and Moschus," translated by J. M. Edmonds; "Sophocles," (in 2 Vols.) Vol. 1, translated by F. Storr. The "Library" is brought out in this country by Macmillan.

Among the holiday editions of standard works of literature which have marked the present season particularly noteworthy are: Maeterlinck's "Life

**Holiday Reprints** of the Bee," which has been brought out by Dodd, Mead, illustrated in color by Edward J. Detmold, a

translation of Alfred Sutro; Jack London's "Call of the Wild," (Macmillan) with colored illustrations by Paul Bransom; the "Poems of John Keats," (Little, Brown & Co.) with illustrations in color by Averil Burleigh; and the "Romances and Travels of Théophile Gautier," (Little, Brown & Co.) translated and edited by Dr. F. C. de Sumichrast, of the French department of Harvard; the new Grant White Shakespeare, pocket edition, (Little, Brown & Co.) specially illustrated from photogravure prints of Goupil; "Charcoals of New and Old New York," (Doubleday, Page & Co.) illustrated and written by F. Hopkinson Smith; charmingly printed and bound; and "Our House and London Out of Our Windows, (Houghton Mifflin Co.) by Elizabeth Robins Pennell, illustrated by Joseph Pennell.

<sup>1</sup>Immigration and Labor. By Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 544 pp. \$3.50.  
<sup>2</sup>Increasing Home Efficiency. By Martha Bensley Bruère and Robert W. Bruère. Macmillan Company. 295 pp. \$1.50.

# BOOKS OF TRAVEL, OBSERVATION, AND ADVENTURE

"MOROCCO, Algeria, Tripolitania, Equatoria, Rhodesia, Sahara, the Sudan, the Congo, the Rand and the Zambezi . . . with your permission,

Africa of To-Day I will take you to them all and you shall see as through your own eyes

these strange and far-off places which mark the line of the last frontier where the white helmeted pioneers are fighting the battles and solving the problems of civilization." These sentences in the preface of E. Alexander Powell's book, "The Last Frontier,"<sup>1</sup> admirably set forth the scope and purpose of the book. Mr. Powell, it will be remembered, has more than once been a contributor to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. He was for a time a member of the United States consular service in Egypt and the Balkans. Besides he has been a traveler of wide experience extending over many years. In this volume he tells in a sprightly way the story of exploitation of the past two decades in Africa. As he graphically puts it, "this stealing of a continent, lock, stock and barrel, is one of the most astounding performances in history." He pays his compliments to French expansion, to English enterprise, and German thrift. The volume ends with a chapter on the islands of Africa: "the country of big things," which he concludes with the statement that "fortune knocks at a man's door once in most countries, but in South Africa she knocks twice." The volume is copiously illustrated.

A careful study of the conditions and possibilities of life in the French colony of Algeria, with just enough history interwoven to form the proper background is Roy Devereux

The French as Colonists "Aspects of Algeria."<sup>2</sup> This volume also is fully illustrated. While giving the French great credit for the work that has been done in their oldest African colony, the author is moved to remark, by way of conclusion, that the only thing that might retard the development of France's colonial empire would be "the repetition in Morocco of the errors which characterized the conquest of Algeria."

Mr. James H. Blount is qualified by six years of experience in the Philippines, two of which were passed as an officer of United States Volunteers,

Our Rule in the Philippines and four as a District Judge, to write with some authority of "The American Occupation of the Philippines." This he does in a volume of 650 pages, largely devoted to a vivacious chronicle of the

<sup>1</sup>The Last Frontier. By E. Alexander Powell. Charles Scribner's Sons. 291 pp., ill. \$3.

<sup>2</sup>Aspects of Algeria. By Roy Devereux. E. P. Dutton & Co. 315 pp., ill. \$3.50.

successive stages in the subjugation of the Filipino insurgents by our army and the organization of civil government in the various provinces.<sup>3</sup> One does not have to accept Mr. Blount's conclusions as to the fitness of the Filipino people for immediate self-government in order to appreciate the force and significance of much that he has to say regarding the mistakes of our government both in policy and in execution. Those administrative errors were such as might have been expected in so vast an undertaking, and even taking Mr. Blount's statement of the facts without qualification, they do not militate against the general belief that, on the whole, the Philippines are far more advanced to-day than they could possibly have been if they had been left to Aguinaldo and his followers. Nevertheless, it is well that Mr. Blount's views should be presented at length in order that the future historian may have full data on which to base the complete record of our dealings with the Philippines. Apart from the controversial passages, the chapters recounting the military exploits of our soldiers in the islands and the difficulties of administration that presented themselves when our government took possession are vivid and well worth while.

It is an audacious thing that Herbert Perris has attempted to do in his "Germany and the German Emperor."<sup>4</sup> He aspires to interpret the German

Germany's Problems people in their strength and weakness, their "puzzling and sometimes apparently contradictory characteristics, their great men and their lack of great men, the singular contrast between their advance in philosophy, music and literature, and more recently in industry, and their political backwardness." The book is in the main historical, but the latter chapters analyze modern industrial and political problems. Particularly stimulating is the chapter on the Hohenzollern ideals.

Melton Prior, the famous English war correspondent, with a record covering literally almost all parts of the world, has brought out his memoirs:

A War Correspondent's ent.<sup>5</sup> This volume is illustrated Memoirs and is packed full of incident and anecdote. It will be read with particular interest for its chapters on the Balkan Wars of 1875, '77, and '78, as well as the Egyptian campaigns of 1882-84, and the blockade of Crete in 1897.

<sup>3</sup>The American Occupation of the Philippines. By James H. Blount. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 664 pp. \$4.00.

<sup>4</sup>Germany and the German Emperor. By Herbert Perris. Henry Holt & Co. 520 pp. \$3.

<sup>5</sup>Campaigns of a War Correspondent. By Melton Prior. Longmans, Green & Co. 340 pp., ill. \$4.20.



## FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE, with his funds for libraries, teachers' pensions, heroes, and universal peace, and now with his proposed pensions for ex-Presidents, is so provocative of public discussion that it is no marvel that one of his important services has attracted but little attention. Yet Mr. Carnegie's recently expressed attitude in regard to paying taxes on his enormous holdings of bonds was not only significant of present investment tendencies and problems, but touched the investor's pocketbook in the most practical way.

For a number of years Mr. Carnegie has not only paid a large tax on his Fifth Avenue property in New York City, but he has headed the list of those who pay the so-called general property tax on bond holdings in New York State. It is a matter of record that when the old ironmaster retired from active business he took with him about \$213,000,000 of first-mortgage bonds of the newly formed United States Steel Corporation, and there is no reason to doubt that he possessed a large fortune in addition to that sum. Thus he has always been a conspicuous object for the New York tax assessors to levy upon and for a number of years he has regularly paid a tax in New York City on \$10,000,000 of bonds. This tax has been as high as 1.83 per cent. and, as the bonds pay only 5 per cent. interest, Mr. Carnegie has given to the city more than one-third of his income on \$10,000,000 of bonds.

Of course, Mr. Carnegie had more than \$10,000,000 of bonds, but in paying taxes upon even that small fraction of his income he headed the list in the country's metropolis. This year, however, when the fall taxing season came around the benevolent Scot caused temporary newspaper astonishment by "swearing off" the entire \$10,000,000. For a day or two, the paragraphers raged, but then it was discovered that Mr. Carnegie had paid the recording tax of one-half of one per cent. on all his bonds and was therefore ever after exempt from taxation on them. In explaining this action he issued a public statement of much force and point on the whole subject of investment taxation.

As Mr. Carnegie said, and as everyone at all familiar with these subjects has long

known, the general property tax in New York has been worse than a farce. And the same statement applies to nearly all the States. The charge is grossly unfair, when imposed upon bonds, because it is, or at least has always been, impossible to impose with equality upon all. The law does not require owners of bonds to report their holdings; it simply places them at the mercy of the Tax Commissioners, who guess at the likely holders of bonds. As a fact several billion dollars' worth of bonds have escaped taxation in New York State, one estimate running as high as five billions. Only the men whose wealth was overpoweringly conspicuous, such as Carnegie and Rockefeller, and heirs of estates, the probate of whose inheritance fairly came under the nose of the assessor, have paid the tax. The vast majority of rich persons have escaped.

Even Mr. Lawson Purdy, president of the Department of Taxes and Assessments of New York, admits that the general property tax as applied to bonds is confiscation and not taxation. He points out that competition in the market for the purchase of bonds by persons who expect to dodge their taxes, or by institutions such as savings banks, insurance companies, colleges, hospitals, and charitable organizations, which do not have to pay taxes on bond holdings, keeps the price of taxable bonds at about the level of non-taxable securities. The result is, he points out, that the few persons who happen to be caught by the assessors pay an imposition which has the effect of reducing the value of their property. In other words, their property is confiscated.

Recognizing the unfairness of the general property tax as applied to bonds, the tax experts in New York secured the enactment in 1911 of a law which provided for a recording tax on bonds, the exact operation of which was explained by our Investment Bureau in the December issue. This law did not do away with the old levy but it does provide that practically all bonds upon which an initial recording tax of one-half of one per cent. is paid shall thereafter be forever exempt. The firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. and other leading banking firms as well as Mr. Carnegie and many other very wealthy investors had their bonds recorded, and in the year ended September

30, 1912, \$220,000,000 bonds were thus exempted from further taxation. Several corporations including the General Electric Company and the International Agricultural Corporation, paid the tax themselves on new issues of their bonds, thus freeing the individual investor in New York State from all further trouble about paying taxes.

In Minnesota, Iowa, and Washington, the antiquated general property tax has recently been abolished, and, as Mr. Purdy says, intelligent efforts have been made throughout the country in the last five years to amend the tax laws. But the whole scheme of investment taxation is still in such confusion as to be a serious national evil. There are still almost as many different systems of imposts as there are States, and even in one State the methods of assessment vary radically in different localities. There appears to be no book which explains it all, and even lawyers and bond dealers are often only partially informed on tax subjects. On the desk before him the writer has six circulars containing offerings of high-grade bonds, and only one of them is tax-exempt and that is only in California. In other words, the man who buys these bonds, if he should happen to be caught, might be taxed fully half the income of the bonds if he chances to live in New York City, and almost as much in some other places.

One practical moral for the investor to draw is to insist upon buying securities which are non-taxable, for there are always certain important classes of securities which are free from imposts. This is true of all Government issues and many State and municipal bonds, as well as of most stocks. On the other hand, Ohio recently passed a constitutional amendment which made State and municipal bonds taxable. Again, it may be noted that because certain bonds are tax-

exempt in one State they are not so exempt in another State. Then, too, the inexperienced buyer of bonds often misunderstands the tax-exemption clause which appears in the trust deed and in the bond recital and which frees him from the liability the corporation itself is under to pay the levy made by the State, but not from paying taxes on his bond holdings.

If the Investment Bankers Association of America, which recently held its annual convention in New York, wishes to do real service to its constituency, it can take up no worthier object than the securing of uniform and equitable tax laws. It might even with advantage have printed a small circular summarizing these laws as they at present apply to investments in all the States, this circular to be supplied to every investor who buys securities through its members. Bond houses are often silent on the subject of taxation when their bonds do not happen to be exempt.

That the Investment Bankers Association is already on the road to accomplishing large service is patent to any one who followed the proceedings of its enthusiastic and well attended convention, late in November. One of the principal speakers discussed in detail the "blue sky" law of Kansas, which aims to protect the investor from offerings of worthless securities, and pointed out that a mass of similar legislation is pending in Ohio, Massachusetts, Maine, Washington, Oregon, Nebraska, Indiana, and perhaps other States. The object of this legislation is, of course, praiseworthy, but the laws may well be drafted hurriedly and by persons not familiar with business conditions and methods. But if the investment bankers give this subject close attention and the laws which are drafted combine their experience with the vigor of legislative remedies, the results are certain to be beneficial.

## TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

### No. 412. SOME QUESTIONS ON NEW YORK CITY BONDS

I write to ask for investment information, having the intent to put several thousands into New York City bonds, yielding a little better than four per cent. In order to make my inquiries clear, I will put them in the form of a series of questions.

First, is there any advantage to an investor who desires safety and easy convertibility in a short term New York City 4 per cent. or  $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. bond, over one having a long term (to 1950, say) to run?

Second, if one were putting several thousand dollars into these securities, would it be better to buy \$1000 bonds, or to buy a number of smaller denomination (say, \$100 or \$500)?

Third, is there any choice, so far as relates to safety and convertibility, between different kinds of New York City bonds? If so, will you please mention those you consider best in these respects. Is a "coupon" bond preferable to a "registered" bond?

Fourth, is there any New York City bond which can ordinarily be bought to yield as much as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent?

To take up your questions seriatim:

First: There seems to be no particular advantage to the investor, desiring safety and easy convertibility, in the short term New York City bonds over the long term bonds, or, as they are called "corporate stock," except this: that by reason of the former's "short haul" to maturity, they are apt to be more stable in market price under all conditions, and to command a somewhat quicker market on account of being more satisfactory to institutional investors such as banks and trust companies.

Second: We should be inclined to say that, to split up an investment of a few thousand dollars into a number of small denomination bonds of this character might be a disadvantage, rather than an advantage. In other words, we think this would be carrying the idea of diversification rather to an extreme. Obviously, with the money all secured in the same way by the city's general credit you would be gaining nothing in safety, and you might by such practice render your investment much less easily convertible. As a matter of fact, we believe you would find it desirable to have such an investment all in one "piece," or, at least, in several bonds of the standard denomination of \$1000.

Third: We have already intimated that, so far as *ultimate* safety is concerned, there is no choice between the various issues of New York City; but that possibly, so far as convertibility is concerned, the preference lies slightly with the short term issues. As between "coupon" and "registered"

bonds, the preference has to be determined in accordance with the requirements of the investor in each case. Again in this connection, if there is any decided preference at all, it is on the basis of convertibility. Coupon bonds pass by delivery, and on this account are somewhat more readily negotiated than registered bonds, for the transfer of which it is necessary to go through certain formalities of indorsement, verification of signature, etc.

Fourth: There are no New York City bonds which can be bought to yield as much as 4½ per cent. on the investment. In times of more or less severe depression in the general investment markets, certain long time issues of the city have been found to sell on an average basis of as high as 4·35 per cent. At the present time, however, these same bonds are quoted to yield only about 4·20 per cent. This is also the basis on which one or two of the short term issues of "assessment bonds," so-called, are now quoted.

## THE AVERAGE INVESTOR'S INCLINATION

READERS of these pages will find the figures appearing below particularly interesting for the clue they give to the consensus of the actual investment experience, during the year just closed, of a large number of people in every walk of life.

The analysis, comprehending the letters written by correspondents of our Investment Bureau between January 1 and December 1, 1912, is intended to indicate the principal types of securities with which the inquiries received during this period were concerned, as well as the geographical distribution of the inquiries.

For example: The figures of the table opposite Missouri mean that there were six instances in which municipal bonds were under consideration, five in which the inquirer's interest was in railroad bonds, seven in which railroad stocks were concerned and so on.

STATE	Municipal Bonds	Railroad Bonds	Railroad Stocks	Industrial Bonds	Industrial Stocks	Public Utility Bonds	Public Utility Stock	Short-Term Notes & Equipment	Real Estate Ponds	Real Estate & Farm Mortgages	Mining Stocks	Miscellaneous	Total
Alabama	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	8
Alaska	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5
Arizona	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	5
Arkansas	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5
California	5	12	6	4	8	16	...	...	5	4	2	25	88
Colorado	1	3	4	3	2	7	6	2	3	2	1	8	28
Connecticut	3	4	3	2	7	6	2	12	6	3	1	6	45
Delaware	1	3	2	2	6	3	1	...	7	1	1	1	1
District of Columbia	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	...	2	3	1	11	38
Florida	...	2	1	1	1	1	1	...	2	1	3	3	13
Georgia	1	...	1	1	1	5	1	1	2	1	3	6	13
Idaho	...	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	2	1	3	3	13
Illinois	5	14	14	9	21	22	6	8	7	6	3	29	144
Indiana	4	5	4	3	3	5	3	3	3	2	7	42	42
Iowa	2	2	6	3	5	2	4	2	6	1	10	43	43
Kansas	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	2	9	22	22
Kentucky	3	6	2	3	2	5	2	...	1	2	6	32	32
Louisiana	...	7	3	5	10	11	3	3	4	3	9	61	61
Maine	3	7	4	2	2	7	1	1	2	3	6	35	35
Maryland	3	7	2	2	8	5	3	11	2	3	6	13	56
Massachusetts	6	2	2	1	3	2	2	1	4	4	7	18	51
Michigan	3	4	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	3	9	33	33
Minnesota	2	1	2	2	5	6	1	...	...	1	1	3	3
Mississippi	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	2
Missouri	6	5	7	5	7	7	4	...	6	1	6	54	54
Montana	1	2	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	4	14	14
Nebraska	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	2	1	1	6	10
Nevada	...	...	1	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	2
New Hampshire	2	...	1	3	3	2	4	1	1	1	7	24	24
New Jersey	3	6	8	7	19	8	6	4	9	4	1	10	85
New Mexico	1	...	2	...	2	...	...	1	1	1	3	8	8
New York	10	25	22	29	48	32	17	8	25	14	7	58	295
North Carolina	1	3	1	1	2	5	...	1	25	1	4	4	21
North Dakota	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	3	5	5
Ohio	13	5	2	9	20	14	2	4	4	5	1	22	101
Oklahoma	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	2	1	2	6	6
Oregon	2	1	1	1	2	...	1	...	4	1	6	18	18
Pennsylvania	9	17	13	22	30	21	8	6	16	5	5	42	197
Rhode Island	1	...	1	1	5	...	1	...	2	1	5	17	17
South Carolina	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	5	6	6
South Dakota	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	7	7
Tennessee	1	...	1	2	2	1	4	1	1	2	3	2	11
Texas	1	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	1	8	26
Utah	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	2	7	7
Vermont	1	1	1	1	3	2	...	...	...	2	5	3	7
Virginia	1	3	3	1	2	5	...	...	...	2	6	22	22
Washington	2	2	3	1	4	2	5	...	...	1	2	11	29
West Virginia	2	2	1	1	4	2	5	...	1	1	2	16	16
Wisconsin	4	3	...	4	4	6	2	...	4	1	1	7	36
Wyoming	7	7	6	10	8	8	2	1	5	10	3	27	94
Foreign	7	7	6	10	8	8	2	1	5	10	3	27	94
Total	104	164	126	146	252	230	77	43	132	113	68	144	1899